The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 29, 1888.

The Week.

JUDGE DANIELS, of the Supreme Court of this State, writes a letter to the *Herald* in a commendably grave tone on the subject of bribery in elections. The contagion, according to Judge Daniels, has gone beyond the illiterate and vicious classes, and has invaded the otherwise respectable ranks of society; and herein lies the danger. It is of the nature of this malady to grow by what it feeds on, and there is no assignable limit to its spread. "The vice," says Judge Daniels, "or crime, as it may be more correctly denominated, is one of appalling magnitude, having a direct tendency to undermine the foundation on which the national and State Governments must be maintained, if they are to be maintained in the future; for they can securely stand only on the intelligence and political integrity of the voters themselves. If that is to be corrupted by the use of money in the elections, then ultimately, and at no very distant period, the wealthy will buy the prominent and important offices. Men of moderate means or without means, and still possessing intelligence, experience, ability, and unswerving integrity, must in that event retire from the political field. They will be as completely ineligible as though declared to be so by the Constitution, both State and national; and that will hand the republic over to an aristocracy as surely as it would be if in legal theory it had been placed on that foundation." The Judge thinks that, while much may be done by a ballot law to lessen bribery at the polls, no such law can entirely prevent it. He favors penal legislation much more stringent than the present, and provisions for taking the testimony of the bribed on condition that it shall not be used against themselves. He does not refer to the English system of limiting the total amount of money which may be spent at elections—a system which it would probably be difficult to introduce here, though by no means impossible if all parties were in favor of it. What we have to fear is, that those who profited in the recent election in New York by means of bribery, on both sides of politics, will equip a lobby to prevent any change in the law which might disable them from committing the same crime in future elections.

Reports of deep interest on the question of ballot-reform come from all quarters. In at least a dozen States organized movements are in progress to secure legislative action upon the subject. In Indiana, as the Indianapolis *Sentinel* remarks, ballot-reform "is to-day the question of questions." The *Sentinel* is devoting much space to the discussion and explanation of the Australian and English laws, and is doing really valuable service in giving intelligent direction to the popular interest. Steps are also being taken in Connecticut for the drafting of a bill to be presented to the next Legislature, and similar projects are reported from several Western States. In all quarters the conviction is strong that absolute secrecy in the act of voting is the primary requisite in any system of reform which may be proposed.

So far as New York State is concerned, we are glad to be able to announce that a bill, similar to the Saxton bill which Gov. Hill vetoed, will be presented to the Legislature as soon as it meets in January, and will be pressed with all possible speed to a passage. The most painstaking efforts will be made to have this new measure conform as far as possible to the Governor's objections, so far as those objections are intelligible. The trouble with the Governor's "reasons" for the veto is that, when they are not trivial, they are either disingenuous or based on ignorance. Then, too, while pretending in the body of his veto message that he was unable to approve the measure because of certain textual defects and unconstitutional provisions, he concluded by denouncing the principle upon which it was based as a "mongrel foreign one." He will be given a chance, if the Republicans of the Legislature prove to be sincere in their advocacy of the reform, to pass judgment upon the new measure at a sufficiently early day to enable him, in case he vetoes it, to return it to the Legislature with his objections. It will then be possible for the Legislature either to amend it in accordance with his views, or to attempt to pass it unchanged over his veto.

The Republican denunciation of John J. O'Brien continues, and in its heat a good deal of interesting "inside" truth is being revealed. Mr. Nugent, a Republican candidate for Coroner, who was unmercifully "knifed" by O'Brien, follows Col. Shepard's example, and gives financial data as to the correct means for estimating the enormity of O'Brien's "treachery." He says:

> "O'Brien and his gang did not run my tickets out of their boxes at all. They got no money from me, but they got it from almost every other candidate, Democratic and Republican. Tim Campbell says he would not have run but for their urging. When he ran they fixed his assessment at $100 an election district. He paid it, and then they took $4,500 from his opponent, McCarthy, and supported McCarthy. They got $2,000 from H. K. Thurber for the ordinary expenses of his friend Schwartz for candidate for Congress, and $5,000 to run the district. They took money from Douras, the County Democracy candidate for Coroner, to run him alone. They took money from the Republican County Committee for Erhardt, from Tammany Hall for Grant, and from the County Democracy for Hewitt. They got at least $30,000. Every captain in the district had $400 on election day to buy voters for the candidates O'Brien and Rourke indicated."

It thus appears that H. K. Thurber has a $2,000 basis for his hot indignation, which explains fully his zeal for reform. Taken together with the handsome sum which Col. Shepard says O'Brien received from the National Republican Committee, this $30,000 from local committees and candidates must have given O'Brien about the largest profits which he has ever received from the "business" in a single election.

It being agreed on all sides now that O'Brien is a rascal and a cheat, we should like to ask the Republicans who are denouncing him what they have to say about his fitness for the office of Chief of the Bureau of Elections. If he is too great a rascal to be a Republican district leader, how does it happen that for years the full power of the Republican party has been exerted to keep him in the office which gives him control of the entire election machinery of the city? How does it happen that not a single Republican newspaper or Republican leader in this city has ever said a word against his continuance in that office, long after his term has expired, or exerted a particle of influence to get him out of it? We should like very much to have some information upon this point. O'Brien is now, by the highest Republican authority, declared to be, taken all in all, the worst man in his party in the city—a politician without honor or shame, and a traitor who sells his party for cash at every opportunity. How happens it that not a single Republican has a word to say about this bad man's unfitness for the important public office which he holds? Is the tremendous fact that for years the Mugwumps have been saying that he was a rascal, a sufficient excuse for this silence? Was that sufficient reason for putting him in the office, and for keeping him in it for so long a time after his character was notorious?

Mr. Cleveland's plurality in Virginia is only about 1,500 on the face of the returns, and the Republicans claim that they would have carried the State if there had been a free vote and a fair count. An attempt is to be made to take the matter before the courts, and at least to bring out the facts, if nothing else can be done. We earnestly hope that a thorough investigation may be made. Wherever there is just ground for suspicion that anything is wrong about an election, a thorough and impartial inquiry ought to be made. But we trust that investigation into the recent Presidential election will not be confined to the State of Virginia. There ought to be a vigorous overhauling of Indiana, to the end that it may be known how far the system of buying "floaters in blocks of five" contributed to the success of the Republicans in carrying the State. Much more important than either of these inquiries will be the investigation which we hope to see made by a Congressional committee into the sources of the immense campaign funds raised by the National Committees, with especial reference to the contributions made to the Republican treasury by Trusts, and to the demand for $400,000 made upon the land-grant railroads by a statesman in the clothing trade, who is

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now talked of for a Cabinet place under Gen. Harrison.

The last canvass was a very remarkable one in various ways, as we have heretofore pointed out. The reliance of the Republicans on English quotations, and their almost complete avoidance of discussion of the tariff from the American point of view, was a very curious phenomenon, which has been in large measure explained by the revelations since made about the use of money in the canvass, and also, we are ashamed to add, about the use made of house-to-house scandal about Mr. Cleveland. We think the way in which this scandal-mongering was organized and carried out was a remarkable exhibition of electioneering skill, though, of course, there is no self-respecting American who must not blush over it. As the scandal was composed of simple, unadulterated lies, and was intended to counteract the effect on the popular imagination of the President's marriage with a charming woman, and of his happy family life in the White House, it was clearly perceived that it would not do to let it get into the newspapers, where it could be pounced on and exposed, and its authors punished. Accordingly, it was kept out of print with really wonderful care, considering how indiscreet newspapers are. Only one indiscretion of this sort was committed by a clergyman in Worcester, Mass., and he was so promptly knocked senseless by a letter from Mrs. Cleveland that it put all his scandalmongering brethren on their guard, so that no squeak of it ever afterwards got into print.

But the propagandism was kept up with great vigor. The Baptist ministers, at a Conference in Washington, were charged with it before they left for their homes, and spread it in their congregations and through letters to their professional brethren. Children were told of it at the Sunday-schools. We have heard of one case where it was actually carried round from house to house by a female colporteur, who used to weep in telling it. At dinner-tables in the cities it was freely repeated, and always on the authority of somebody who was present at some horrid scene. It reached this office frequently during the summer, but never in a shape to be taken hold of. There was always something dim and shadowy about the name and residence of the witness. Within the last week, however, we for the first time lighted on one of the worst of these stories in the mouth of a reputable man, who was able and willing to name his authority. We accordingly wrote to the authority, and are informed by him that the story was, from top to bottom, a cruel, brutal, and silly invention, which he knew was in circulation, but, as long as it was not published, shrank from publicly contradicting. The old Puritan theologians had a strong sense of existence of corporate guilt—that is, of the responsibility before God Almighty of whole communities, nations, cities, and churches, for the sins of individual members. Whole towns used to fast and pray because some of the inhabitants had fallen victims to the lusts of the flesh. If this doctrine were now held, there is not a Republican in the land who ought not to be on his knees, shedding tears of shame and repentance over this most disgraceful episode in the party history—unparalleled, so far as we know, in its baseness, its meanness, its cowardice, its wickedness, as well as its ingenuity.

The Prohibitionists in this State are in considerable excitement over the surprisingly frank admission of Warner Miller and other Republicans that the high-license issue was forced to the front for the purpose of securing Prohibition votes for Harrison. In all the many tributes which have been paid to Mr. Miller for his brave stand on this question, much stress is laid upon the fact that it was because of his course that the Prohibition vote for President in this State was materially reduced as compared with the vote of last year. The *Voice*, Prohibition organ, cites these utterances as evidence that Mr. Miller's candidacy was merely a trick; that his fight was not against the saloons, but against the Prohibition party; that his election was not hoped for; and that there is no sincerity in the Republican professions of zeal for temperance reform. We merely cite this as the Prohibition view, but we are constrained to add that we have been surprised at the frankness of the admissions which Mr. Miller and other Republicans have made. They are incautious, to say the least, in view of the sinuous course of the Republicans of this State on the temperance question, as revealed in many ways, and most luminously in the famous Shook telegram to the editor of the *Tribune* in regard to giving "Republican saloon-keepers the protection to which they are entitled."

If the Republicans prove to have obtained control of the House of Representatives, they will owe their narrow majority in that body directly and plainly to the saloons of St. Louis. That city is represented in the present Congress by three Democrats; it will be represented in the next Congress by three Republicans; the change in these three districts is what converts the House from a Democratic into a Republican body, if it is Republican; and the change in these three districts is due to the revolt of the saloons against Francis, the Democratic Mayor, who enforced the Sunday Closing Law, and against all candidates of the party which would nominate for Governor a man who thus declared his independence of the liquor interest. The saloons are prompt in claiming the credit of the Republican victory. The St. Louis *Tribune*, a German paper which supported the Republican party throughout the campaign as a better party for the liquor interest than the Democratic, says that "the great Republican victory in St. Louis, without the least doubt, is to be attributed to the agitation of the Personal Liberty League," and points out that "from St. Louis three Republicans are chosen to Congress, *of whom two are Germans.*" What the Republican party may expect of these allies whom it has gained from the saloons of St. Louis may be inferred from the tone of the *Freie Presse*, a leading German Republican paper of Cincinnati, which talks in this way: "The comparatively small majority which the Republicans obtained in the city and State at the last election should be a warning for our Republican legislative body to keep their hands off the Dow law [taxing saloons], and off other objectionable measures. A disregard of this warning would be the downfall of the Republican party at the next election. Everything would fall in the hands of the Democrats, from the Governor to the Mayor, and even the Senatorship."

The disastrous effect of any alliance with the saloons upon the attitude of a political organization with regard to temperance was strikingly shown in Connecticut just before the recent election. A "committee of twenty" leading citizens was appointed in Hartford some time ago to consider what measures could be adopted to restrict the liquor evil. On the 8th of October this committee received and unanimously adopted a report of a sub-committee on the license question, recommending that the Committee of Twenty should apply to the County Commissioners to raise the license fee from $300 to $400, and to deny licenses to places in the neighborhood of a factory where there is a general opposition to the license by the managers and workmen connected with the factory; to places where other business is transacted (except hotels and restaurants); and to places in buildings which are used in part as dwelling-houses. All of these recommendations were so obviously reasonable and wise that they should have needed no support in argument; but to answer any possible objection which might be raised by the Commissioners, a committee was appointed to appear before that body, consisting of such well-known men as Nathaniel Shipman, Judge of the United States District Court of Connecticut, Col. Jacob L. Greene, President of the Connecticut Mutual Life Insurance Company, and Mr. Henry C. Robinson. These gentlemen accordingly went before the County Commissioners on the 25th of October, and urged the adoption of the above propositions. On the 31st of October the Commissioners announced to the Committee that they declined to adopt any of their suggestions. What was the reason? Simply this. The Commissioners were all Republicans, and the Republican party, by nominating Morgan G. Bulkeley for Governor, had adopted the policy of trying to carry the State by bidding for the saloon vote.

The stock market has gone from bad to worse since the election, disappointing the successful party and surprising the defeated one in about equal measure. The good, the bad, and the indifferent securities have suffered alike. It was generally supposed that relief from the political tension would have a healthful effect upon business, and that, whichever party might carry the election, the removal of an uncertainty would be beneficial in every way. This belief was shared, if not expressed, by all, but the result has been precisely contra-

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ry to the common expectation, as regards the stock market. General business outside of stocks has not shared the depression. The reports from commercial centres are quite encouraging, and this fact warrants the hope that the depression in Wall Street is only temporary; but for the time being it is unmistakable. Several causes have contributed to the "want of confidence" betokened by the situation in Wall Street, the most important of which is the so-called trunk-line war, which the trunk-line managers tell us is not a war, but merely an investigation, or a means of finding out what has happened to their traffic. It is of small consequence to railway shareholders whether it is a war or an inquest, if their receipts are shorn by the process. Undoubtedly, if the war, or the investigation, should come to an end, and if rates were restored to a paying basis, one heavy cloud would be removed; but it must be borne in mind that the depression began before the trunk-line trouble broke out or was even suspected, showing that there was a deeper cause than a local railway squabble.

We have little doubt that this deeper cause is the uncertainty which still hangs over the operations of the national Treasury. The present system of alternate glut and relief cannot last. It is a highly artificial condition, opposed to all reasonable conceptions of business. It is hardly consistent with the operations of a sane mind to go on from month to month piling up money that is not wanted, and then disgorging it in premiums to bond speculators, which premiums must necessarily rise as the market contracts and the surplus grows. Public opinion will not tolerate such proceedings indefinitely. The surplus must be choked. It must be suppressed in a rational way, and not by offering the country a flood of cheap whiskey as an alternative to a financial crisis; nor must it be got rid of by extravagant appropriations, amounting to a disguised thievery of the money of the tax-payers. Now, the election of Gen. Harrison is believed to have added something to the difficulties of the precedent situation. The policy recommended by Mr. Cleveland—of squaring the receipts by the expenditures, the taxes by the public needs—has received a check, and no other policy has been formulated to take its place. The underlying cause of depressions in Wall Street is want of confidence, signalized by a general withdrawal of capital from the customary fields of employment, while waiting to see what will happen. The present depression is of this nature. It is aggravated by other things, but its groundwork is the uncertainty hanging over the Treasury, its surplus, and its next chief.

The exportation of a few million dollars of gold last week came at a time when any suspicious circumstance was pretty sure to add to the prevailing distrust in the circles of finance. It has the effect, according to street parlance, to "play into the hands of the bears." But it cannot be considered a factor of any importance in comparison with other present influences in depressing the stock market and creating distrust among investors. In the first place, the exportation of gold that has already taken place is insignificant in itself. We are producing about $35,000,000 per annum, and if we were to export the whole of this annual increment, the fact would signify little when we reflect that we have gained since the first of January, 1879, nearly $500,000,000 of this metal, as the following figures, drawn from the commerce and navigation reports, and those of the Director of the Mint, will show:

Gold imports 1879-1887.....	$351,702,763
Gold exports 1879-1887.....	157,304,749
Net imports 1879-1887.....	194,398,014
Gold production 1879-1887.....	302,100,000
	$496,498,014

It is possible to be glutted with gold, as with any other article of commerce; and when this condition occurs, an exportation of the surplus is both necessary and healthful. There is nothing in the present condition of business to show that the movement of gold at this time is other than healthful. If it shall have the effect to break the back of the wheat speculation at Chicago, which still prevents that staple from moving, it will be altogether wholesome. Indeed, a much larger exportation of the metal would be regarded as a cheap deliverance from the deadlock.

We venture to call the attention of those Republicans who, while believing in tariff reform, voted for Gen. Harrison, in serene confidence that if elected he would kick over the platform on which he was nominated, to the signs of appetite which their party is showing in regard to the surplus. From every quarter of the land there are unmistakable indications that the clamor to spend all the surplus in one way or another is going to be tremendous. If the tariff-reform Republicans are to get any hearing for their views they must be up and doing without delay. There are, we believe, many thousands of them who are convinced, not only that the burden of tariff taxation should be reduced, but that the greatest danger which threatens the continued supremacy of their party is its tendency to go to the extremes to which its high-protection element is pushing it. If this element carries the day, there will be nothing for the tariff-reform Republicans to do but to swallow their convictions or to turn Mugwumps. It is in order to spare them from the horrors of the latter fate that we give them this warning. The present race of Mugwumps, according to unanimous and oft-repeated Republican authority, is completely extinct. Think what a responsibility would rest upon the party if within a year or two it should be the cause of the birth of a new race of them!

We call the attention of H. K. Thurber, John F. Plummer, the Home Market Club of Boston, and Pat Ford, to the surprising information which comes from Indianapolis that Gen. Harrison has selected as his private secretary a gentleman of English birth. What would have been the emotions of all these broad-minded patriots if President Cleveland had made such a choice as that? They unfurled the Union Jack as the true Cleveland ensign, and went into systematic forgery as a business on much less provocation—in fact, upon no other provocation than that the British press had spoken favorably of the President. We doubt very much if they could have endured at all the spectacle of a man of British birth standing guard at the door of the White House, and "poisoning" the mind of the President towards all true Americans in search of high-protection benefits, subsidies, and other favors at the expense of the people. It is a cause for national thanksgiving that they were not put to the test; for, instead of relieving themselves with lying and forgery, Thurber, Plummer, and Ford might have plunged at once into "war."

A writer in the Paris *Figaro* gives the French public some account of Gen. Harrison, in which he makes the General's great-grandmother the granddaughter of Pocahontas, the celebrated Indian princess. He also makes him the lineal descendant of Harrison the regicide, whose execution it describes, and makes his descendants emigrate to America. But they would assuredly have gone to Massachusetts as Goffe and Whalley did, and not to Virginia, as Gen. Harrison's ancestor did. The descent from the regicide Harrison is not, we observe, claimed in Gen. Harrison's biographies. The Frenchman denies that he is cold in manners, but admits that he does not remember names or faces well: but, says he, after the first moment he thaws out, and is very agreeable. Harrison is, moreover, a philosopher of the "ancient sort," meaning, we suppose, what is called "one of Plutarch's men." Of Mrs. Harrison the Frenchman speaks in the highest terms, and says her "five-o'clock teas" in Indianapolis are much frequented. She is strong in epigrams and puns, but knows when to hold her tongue; and a woman who knows when to be silent is a superior woman.

Apparently the Floquet Ministry have committed an additional if not final folly in the proposal of an income tax. They are at their wits' ends for money, and have accordingly introduced a bill putting a tax of 1 per cent. on incomes derived from invested capital, and a half of 1 per cent. on professional incomes, exempting all below $400 a year. The French bourgeois are up in arms against it. They are very particular about their privacy—probably more so than any other civilized people. They have succeeded better than any other in preventing its being invaded by the newspapers, and they are still more strongly opposed to having it invaded by the tax collector. They have never submitted, and probably never would submit, to the inquisition which taxpayers undergo in some of the New England States. They look with horror on the idea of having these money matters known throughout the "quarter," and commented on by business rivals. Hence, the probabilities are that the bill will never become a law; but the mere talk of it has increased the hostility to the Republic which seems to be slowly permeating the whole of French society.

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WANAMAKER.

EVERY reader of the newspapers is aware of the appearance in the political arena, within at most nine weeks, of a gentleman named Wanamaker. That he is already a great political personage is plainly to be seen from the stories about him, and it makes little difference whether these stories are true or false. A person of whom it is reported that Quay says that he is going to ask only one thing of Gen. Harrison, and that is that Wanamaker shall have whatever he wants, must be a considerable person, whether Quay ever said it or not. A man who is discussed in the newspapers as likely to get his choice of places in the Cabinet must be an important and influential man in his party, even if everything the newspapers give out about his prospects be unfounded. Wanamaker is such a man. If we were to believe half what we hear about Wanamaker, we should expect to see him the guide, philosopher, and friend of the next Administration, to see him become to Harrison what Blaine was to Garfield. All this, as we have said, within nine weeks or thereabouts.

What is the meaning of this sudden rise? Who is Wanamaker? Wanamaker is the owner of an immense store in Philadelphia, in which he sells almost everything that is used by civilized man or woman. His business has grown wonderfully within a few years, mainly of course through his own energy and enterprise, but largely by means of the most seductive advertisements about clothing, in which the air of candor, of impartiality, of sympathy both with the frugal and the lavish, with the ascetic and the luxurious, has long been the envy and admiration of the clothing trade, and has really revolutionized its literature. But how does all this make Wanamaker a great politician within the short period of nine weeks? Is he an orator? Has he made speeches for the party? No; we doubt if he ever made a political speech in his life. Has he written books, pamphlets, or articles for the party? No; we doubt if he ever in his life wrote anything but puffs of his own wares. Is he an old party Sage, who has long sat in its councils and given it the benefit of his wisdom and experience? No; he never was heard of in the party until nine weeks ago, and has, as far as is known, no wisdom or experience except in the keeping of a large variety store. Has he been identified with any great cause which the party has now taken up and made its own? No; all his fame has been won in the clothing business. Has he ever held any public office in which he established any claim on public gratitude by able administration? No; his undoubted administrative abilities have been displayed entirely within his own store, and the only American who has had the benefit of them is Wanamaker himself.

To what, then, is his sudden rise due? To the fact that he has made an enormous contribution in money to Quay's campaign fund, and to a successful attempt to extort $400,000 for it in the last week of the canvass, the full nature of which we trust to see revealed when Congress meets. In other words, Wanamaker has bought for cash—or thinks he has bought for cash, and Quay thinks so, too—a controlling interest in the formation of the next Administration of the United States, and has actually gone about boasting of his bargain. He believes that he has acquired, by means of a check payable on demand, the moral right to sit in President Harrison's Cabinet, and the right to be consulted with regard to the appointment of his colleagues, and the right to fill many subordinate offices with persons of his own selection.

"What impudence!" many good people will say. No; it is not impudence at all. Wanamaker is a man of his time. As a purchaser of political influence and honor, he is the product of a system which has been in existence and growing for twenty years. He is distinguished simply by having bid higher than any of his predecessors. He found the practice of purchasing a claim to high office by heavy contributions in money to the party funds firmly established before he decided to add a political branch to his huge store. For fully twenty years the doctrine that a man who subscribed heavily was entitled to a great place, and justified in feeling swindled if he did not get it, has been striking deeper and deeper roots in the political soil. Wanamaker has paid so much that he naturally feels entitled to several places, or "a controlling interest" in the governmental business. In other words, he has brought us one step nearer to the possibility, which now stares us in the face, of the purchase of the entire Administration from the National Committee of the winning party for a sum which many of our rich men could now afford to pay for such a luxury, and which, as well as we can judge, need not be higher than say $4,000,000. No such chance has been offered to wealth in the modern world or in the ancient world since the Prætorian Guard sold the Roman Empire at public auction. All that is needed now is some such regulation in the interest of fair dealing as a tariff of prices. A man who is asked to subscribe handsomely ought to know exactly what he can have for his money, so as to avoid the subsequent complaints and heart-burnings which of late have been too common. The upset price of the State Department, of the Treasury, of the Interior, and so on down, should be given in black and white, and there should be a day and hour fixed in the canvass when the bids should be closed and the places awarded in case of victory.

The reasonableness of this arrangement and the blamelessness of Wanamaker will be more apparent if we point out that, under all popular governments, political parties give the offices to the men who furnish the means of carrying the elections. A party which has waged a successful war thus honors its soldiers and financiers; a party which has triumphed by persuasion, by winning the majority over to its way of thinking, like the Republican party in 1860, thus honors its orators and writers: but a party which has gained possession of the Government with money, naturally and properly honors the men who provide the money. This is, as the boys say, "the long and the short" of Wanamaker. It explains him, and justifies him; but we cannot honestly say it makes us proud of him. In fact, to be entirely candid, we think, as a politician, he makes the American people an awful warning to the civilized world.

AN INVESTIGATION NEEDED.

THAT Quay has thought himself authorized to sell place and patronage to Wanamaker for cash, and has sold them, is something which no reputable person questions. That Wanamaker believes the bargain will be carried out by President Harrison, there is equally good reason to believe. That Wanamaker knows well, in spite of his "Bethel," that Quay and Dudley used the money for criminal purposes, we are confident Congress can bring to light by an investigation. The Democrats have a majority in the present House, and have ample time in which to set a committee to work between now and the 4th of March, 1889.

There ought to be, and we believe there is, patriotism enough in the majority to secure such committee, no matter who may be touched by the result of the inquiry. The best men of both parties begin to be appalled by the corruption of the last election, as the facts continue to come to light. There is a growing determination, in all parts of the country, that the crimes against free government which have disgraced the country during the last three or four months shall not be repeated. Preparations are being made in every direction for taking the ballot out of the list of vendible commodities. But these preparations would be greatly strengthened, and the work of reformatory legislation made more sure, by thorough inquiry into the use made of money by both parties during the canvass. Quay and Wanamaker have felt so sure of impunity that they hardly took any pains to conceal their operations until after the election, when, like fraudulent bankrupts, they burnt their books and papers. Documentary evidence of their villany is therefore perhaps now scarce, but they can be summoned and put on the rack of cross-examination, as can hundreds of others who were either their victims or confederates. There is really little difficulty in getting at the truth of the matter, probably not half as much as there was in the Crédit-Mobilier case, which was laid thoroughly bare by putting a few men on oath. Something of this kind is needed to shock the popular conscience, and present vote-trading to the popular eye in its true light. Newspaper charges produce but little impression, especially when they come from the defeated party after an election. Judicial examination and proof are needed to bring home to people the distance to which politicians have carried the Government on the road to damnation.

We have no idea that Gen. Harrison will be disposed to deliver the places which Quay has sold. We feel sure he will not repeat the blunder committed by Mr. Hayes of rewarding with office men suspected, whether justly or unjustly, of cheating him into the Presidency. We take it for granted that he will not knowingly allow the Government of the United States to be converted into mer-

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chandise and sold in "job lots." But every one in his position is naturally disposed to receive with suspicion charges made against men to whom he owes his election. It is but human, and by no means discreditable, that he should give Quay and Wanamaker the benefit of every possible doubt, and be ready to believe, what they are sure to tell him, that if their conduct were judicially investigated, they would be found blameless. Such men are always eager to be examined as long as nobody is waiting to examine them, and their eagerness always produces a considerable impression on their friends. Consequently, an investigation would probably do as much good in informing President Harrison's judgment as in rousing popular indignation. It would bring before him clearly the tremendous fact that this Government has reached the parting of the ways, and that on him the great duty devolves of deciding which it shall take. The election has at last made the country aware, not only that the present close division of parties in doubtful States makes the temptation to bribery almost overwhelming, but that we have among us a very large body of rich men who think it no harm to bribe in defence of what they consider their own interests, and a large body of poor men who have been bribed so often that the association of duty with the ballot has faded from their memories.

With this situation Gen. Harrison will have to deal. His manner of appointing his Cabinet and filling the other leading offices will do a great deal either to encourage or discourage those in both parties who think that the Government must be saved now or never; that after another plunge into the slough, even the most hopeful will give up the struggle. Hitherto, we have only had to contend with the vague expectation of men who subscribe largely to campaign funds, that they will get an equivalent in public honors and salaries in case of victory, and who modestly conceal their pretensions and make no public sign if they are disappointed. But to-day we are confronted with actual purchasers, holding what they believe to be "a call" on the President of the United States for such offices as they may designate, in return for cash. Nothing would strengthen Gen. Harrison so much in dealing with such a pair as proof of their guilt under oath, and we believe that if the House will do its duty such proof can be had.

AN EXTRAORDINARY CONFESSION.

THE *Mail and Express* is the accredited evening organ of the Republican party in this city. If the editor does not contribute wisdom to its councils, he undoubtedly contributes money to its chest. He knows all about its receipts and expenditures, and when he talks about the way its money goes, he undoubtedly speaks by the card. This makes a story to which he gave currency in his columns on Thursday, the most extraordinary, as far as our recollection goes, in the history of politics. It is this: That the National Committee, on the Saturday before election, paid to "a Republican State leader" the sum of $150,000, none of which went to the County Committee or to the "necessary and legitimate" expenses of the campaign—all of these having been met by a distinct donation of $40,000 from the National Committee, and contributions from individuals; that the $150,000 referred to was to be used in the purchase of three "movements," viz., the "James O'Brien movement," estimated at 10,000 votes; the "Coogan movement," estimated at 30,000; and the "John J. O'Brien movement," an unknown quantity, but commonly called in politics the Eighth or "banner district." Now, these "movements," though bought and paid for, were not delivered. Says the chronicler:

> "As to the Coogan movement, it promised 20,000 more votes for Harrison and Miller than it delivered, and collapsed, after polling about 9,000 for Coogan for Mayor, into the arms of Tammany Hall, which presented the only other Romanist for that office.
>
> "The James O'Brien movement promised 10,000 more votes than it delivered.
>
> "The John J. O'Brien movement kept its word pretty well for Harrison, miserably for Miller, and not at all for Erhardt.
>
> "In other words, the Eighth District Republicans were sold for Governor to Hill partly, and wholly to Grant for Mayor, and the last for the same reason that the Coogan movement went to him, that he was a Romanist. Of course the H. J. Grant party assumed and paid all the so-called campaign expenses of both the Coogan and J. J. O'Brien movements which came to Grant, and this in utter disregard of the fact that the Republicans had already paid them. It is also probable that the Hewitt people paid dearly for the song of success as sung to them by both of these sirens.
>
> "If Col. Cruger and Capt. Erhardt will move for the trial and expulsion of John J. O'Brien from the Republican Committees, it is more than probable that his ability to abuse the confidence of the Republicans of this city will be terminated by his performance of November 6, 1888.
>
> "The success of the Republican party in this city is to be achieved by educating the masses in Republican doctrine, by the circulation of the Republican newspapers, and the continual holding of mass-meetings; and we hope we have seen the last of attempts to buy votes *en bloc*, in all which attempts for the past twenty-six years we have been buying experience and not votes—been filling and trimming the lamps of our opponents and emptying our own."

It will be observed that the reason here given for abandoning "the attempts to buy votes *en bloc*," which have now been made for twenty-five years, is not that the practice of buying votes "*en bloc*" or otherwise is illegal, or immoral, or disgraceful, or un-American, or sinful, but that the last and most expensive attempt did not succeed. Not one word of condemnation of the practice of buying votes on moral or patriotic grounds does the article contain. Republicans are warned away from it, and urged to try the plan of "circulating Republican newspapers and the continual holding of mass-meetings," but solely because the commission agents who get the money do not keep their bargains. A more extraordinary revelation, we think, has never been made, and the naïveté with which it is made adds to its value. The system of purchase cannot be a thing which the Republican leaders in this city think it worth while to keep secret, or the editor of the *Mail and Express* would hardly be familiar with it; and we may be sure that the arguments he urges against it, in his simple-minded way, are but repetitions of what he has heard in the more familiar talk of the local managers.

There was a time when we should have said that "these abominable principles and this more abominable avowal of them" would rouse in this city, from respectable men of all parties, a storm of indignation, when the very stones of Broadway and Fifth Avenue, at least, would rise and mutiny. If any one had predicted in 1872, that by 1888 a Republican organ would declare against wholesale bribery by Republicans in the city simply as a poor business venture, and confess that it had for years been carried on with the connivance or acquiescence of men like Messrs. Walter Howe, Theron G. Strong, C. N. Bliss, Elihu Root, Edward Mitchell, and Van Rensselaer Cruger, we venture to say that he would, in almost any respectable company, have been denounced as a slanderer. And we confess that, had he predicted that this miserable story could be told by a Republican newspaper in this city, without drawing forth from these gentlemen immediate and indignant denials, either of complicity or knowledge, we too should have said he was a malignant pessimist. We should have told him scornfully that on the morning after this fatuous revelation of iniquity appeared, all the gentlemen we have mentioned, and a score of others, would either publicly have given the lie to every word of it, or have declared that if such practices were carried on they were carried on without their cognizance, and that, in testimony of their shame and confusion, they would leave no stone unturned to bring the perpetrators of them to justice. But thus far the matter, we grieve to say, appears to excite no sensation whatever. The Better Element is silent. The *Tribune* is silent. The Union League Club, and especially "the Committee on Political Reform" (Heaven save the mark!), is silent. The Boys are silent. But unless this Government is doomed to shameful ruin, this silence will not last long. The grief with which the daily revelations of the way in which the late election was conducted, both by victors and vanquished, is filling tens of thousands of American hearts will, before all is over, become flaming wrath. The rascals who buy and sell the Government will have to run or hide, and so will the wretched hypocrites who roll their eyes and propose to quit the business because their coparceners steal the money.

THE SUGAR TRUST AND THE SUGAR TAX.

WHEN Senator Allison made his speech introducing the Finance Committee's substitute for the Mills bill, on the 8th of October last, he laid much stress on the fact that the Senate bill was more in the interest of the consumers of sugar than the House bill was. He charged that the House bill was drawn in the interest of the Sugar Trust, and that the Senate bill would make a difference of $6,000,000 in favor of the public as compared with the Mills bill, and a still greater difference as compared with the present law. Upon this showing the Senator justly felici-

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tated himself and his associates and the country; for what he said was true, as we shall now show. The subject is a complicated one, but we will endeavor to make it plain.

Imported sugars may be roughly classified as raw and refined, the raw being either wholly unfit for human consumption, or so repulsive to sight and taste that it will not be consumed in that state by civilized people. The tax on raws is imposed according to the polariscope test, beginning at 75 degrees for the lowest grade, at which the present duty is 1 4-10 cent per pound. For each degree higher than 75 there is an additional duty of 4-100 of a cent per pound up to 100 degrees, where the duty is 2 4-10 cents per pound. From this point onward the classification is by the Dutch standard of color; No. 13 to No. 16 being 2¾ cents per pound duty, No. 20 being 3 cents, and all above 16 to No. 20 being 3½ cents. The protection accorded to the Trust is the margin between the duty on raw and refined. It is fair to take the duty on sugar of 96 degrees polariscope test as the standard for raw. The following table will show the margin of protection allowed per hundred pounds under the present law, under the Mills bill, and under the Senate bill:

	Raw. (96 deg.)	Refined.	Protection.
Present duty	$2 24	$3 50	$1 26
Mills bill	1 82.2	2 80	0 97.8
Senate bill	1 12	2 00	0 88

The Mills bill reduces the bonus which the present law gives to the Trust 28 2-10 cents per hundred pounds. The Senate bill reduces it 38 cents per hundred pounds. Mr. Allison's contention is accordingly justified: the Senate bill reduces the protection to the Sugar Trust nearly 10 cents per hundred pounds *more* than the Mills bill does. We will now quote exactly what Mr. Allison said on this subject, viz.:

"The difference between the substitute which we propose and the House bill as respects sugar is a difference of $6,000,000 in the aggregate per annum to the consumer. By the House bill the tax upon the people of the United States is $6,000,000 per annum more than the Senate substitute, as the duty is paid by the people who consume the sugar, and, in my judgment, it is practically the only case in all these dutiable lists where the consumer pays the duty; and, as the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Hoar] very justly and very properly observes, it bears heavily upon the poor and upon those who have large families. Six million dollars to whom? Where will it go? It is between 13 and 16. Why is it that the refining interest insists all the time upon that relation of 13 and 16? It is that the centrifugal sugars can come in between 13 and 18, and thus go into consumption without the intervention of the refiner. Therefore it is that they want to make the line of demarcation strongest between 13 and 16, in order that all sugars that come in here may be raw sugars, and thus pass through the processes of refining in our country; and I repeat that the Senate substitute makes a difference of one-fifth of a cent, or $6,000,000 per annum, in favor of the consumers of sugar.

"What is the effect of that? According to the census of 1880, there was twenty-seven and a half millions of capital invested in sugar refining in the United States. I have not been able to get the accurate statistics between then and now, but I assume that there is certainly not more than $50,000,000 of capital engaged in that industry now. So this concession made to sugar-refiners in the House bill, as compared with the Senate bill, is 12 per cent. upon all the capital of all the sugar refineries in the United States; and yet the Senators who have made the minority report upon this bill, including the separate and distinct report of the Senator from Kentucky, endorse these House provisions as respects the question of sugar, and then they denounce all Trusts. Why, they legislate by the provisions of this House bill $6,000,000 into the pockets of the Sugar Trust, 12 per cent. per annum upon their capital, and take it out of the pockets of the people of the United States, and denounce the Republican party and this substitute for administering to and fostering Trusts! Consistency is a jewel that is not found in this minority report any more than it is in the report of the Senator from Kentucky."

We trust that the public, without regard to sex, color, or previous condition of servitude, will take notice of this aspect of the sugar tax and of the proposed changes in the same. The Sugar Trust is, in our judgment, the most pernicious and extortionate of all the protected Trusts; it has greater powers of mischief than any other, and it is doing more mischief than any other. The American people have a gloomy prospect ahead, in any case, in dealing with these daring and unscrupulous combinations, but the prospect will be gloomier still if there is any backing down on the part of the Senate from the position here taken. If it is the intention of the Senate to keep its promise to turn several millions per annum out of the gains of this protected monopoly into the pockets of the people, they will receive due and proper thanks; but if they depart from their declared purpose of giving relief to the people, the reason will be only too plain, viz., that, in order to attract votes, they held out a promise before the election which they did not intend to fulfil. We believe that a proper investigation would show that American refineries can turn out refined sugar as cheaply, if not more so, than any others in the world, and that therefore any protection granted to the Trust is a sheer gratuity taken from the poor to be added to the superfluities of the rich. We consider, also, that the lawsuits set on foot under State authority to dissolve corporations that have entered into the Trust are worse than useless, because they turn attention away from the real evil, and hold out the expectation of relief in a quarter from which it can never come. The source of the gains of the Sugar Trust is the tariff. Let the public fix their eyes on Washington City, and not on Albany, if they would see where their money goes, and who gets away with it.

THE SILVER COINAGE.

It is a long time since the silver coinage has engaged any considerable share of public attention. The last discussion of the subject that could be considered really important took place four years ago, when Mr. Cleveland, then President-elect, addressed his letter to Congressman Warner advising a discontinuance of the coinage. This led to an attempt on the part of Mr. Randall, Mr. Carlisle, and other leading Democrats to procure legislation in the short session of 1884–5 for a temporary cessation of the coinage, but it failed on a test vote. In the following session Mr. Bland of Missouri made an effort to get a "free coinage" bill passed in place of the present law, which provides for the coinage of not less than two nor more than four millions per month; but this failed also by a pretty decisive vote in the House.

So things have gone on under the act of 1878 until the coinage amounts to about $300,000,000. One circumstance, not anticipated by either the silver or the anti-silver men, has created a vacuum in the circulation, to fill which the newly coined silver has served a useful purpose. The gradual shrinkage of the national-bank circulation, due to the calling in of the bond security upon which it rests, must needs be supplemented with something, and the only things available were certificates based upon gold or silver or both. Both have been employed, but mostly silver, because gold certificates cannot be issued of smaller denominations than $20. The field of ordinary hand-to-hand circulation was left to the silver certificates. In addition to this vacuum, created artificially although not designedly, there was a natural vacuum produced by the growth of the country, especially its growth westward and southward, where banking facilities are relatively small. This accounts, we think, for the major part of the demand for certificates for circulation during the past four years. Still another and not insignificant vacuum has been created by the suppression of small bank-note and greenback circulation, and the issue of silver certificates of the denominations of one and two dollars in place thereof.

It is useless to inquire whether these voids in the circulation might not have been filled more advantageously in other ways. We think that the filling of them with silver was slovenly, expensive, and unscientific; but we acknowledge at the same time that it provides a guarantee fund of 75 per cent. to secure the circulation; that is, that the bullion value of the silver held by the Treasury against the certificates is within 25 per cent. of their nominal value. As the Government has received from the purchasers and present holders of the silver certificates 100 cents for each dollar, it is bound to make good the difference at all times and under all circumstances. It has been provided with funds for this purpose, and is under the highest moral obligation to the people to see that nobody is a loser by the decline in silver. If a liquidation were called for now, there would be a loss to the Government, because some of the purchases of bullion were made at higher prices than those now prevailing; but this fact does not impair the moral obligation to the holders of the certificates.

The Treasurer of the United States tells us in his annual report that the coinage during the past fiscal year was $32,484,673, and that the "net distribution" increased only $39,156. This means that gaps in the circulation already mentioned have been practically filled. The report says further, that the Treasurer is of the opinion that the people have all of these coins they want or are willing to take, and recommends that if the purchases of silver are to continue, the bullion be put into the form of heavy bars or ingots, arguing that the present supply of the dollars will be sufficient for any demand there is likely to be for

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them, and that any increase of the certificate circulation could be based with perfect safety on the uncoined metal.

This suggestion is not likely to be adopted by Congress. It involves too wide a departure from the idea with which the silver coinage was entered upon. This idea was the restoration of "the dollar of the fathers." It was a popular superstition, which would no more be answered by "heavy bars or ingots" than devotion to a Hindu idol would be answered by the Litany of the English Church. Nor do we conceive that the piling up of silver bricks in the Treasury would answer any useful purpose; it would be like the accumulation and storing of pig-iron or anything else. The piling up of unused dollars is indeed the same thing, in an economical sense; but the silver craze is to be cured only by observation and experience of the folly in its original and true form. When the demand for these dollars for purposes of circulation shall have been fully satisfied, and the pile of unused dollars begins to grow just in proportion to the coinage—that is, by two millions per month—there will be a struggle in Congress between the advocates of "free coinage" and their opponents. It is best, in our opinion, to have that fight in the open field when it comes, and not to attempt to disguise it in any way.

THE SOCIAL USES OF THE "KICKER."

THAT ingenious gentleman who chooses to be known as "M. Quad," adds to his merit as an amusing humorous writer the virtue of being in private life, not merely occasionally, but consistently and on principle, a "kicker." He fights habitually against the manifold small impositions and ill-treatment which beset every man who lives, and especially who moves, in our social system of "modern conveniences." Every one of these has its reverse side of inconvenience, unless worked with absolute smoothness, and since this depends upon good faith and good will in the fallible persons charged with their administration, the chances of annoyance and suffering arising from our elaborate way of modern living far exceed anything known to our fathers and grandfathers. Unhappily, most men submit to such impositions and ill-treatment without resistance or protest, either because they are in a hurry, or because they want courage, or are easy-going and lack so much of genius as consists in "an infinite capacity for taking pains." Such people deserve all that they suffer, but the public good demands that they should be stirred to better ways, as has just been done by a bit of "M. Quad's" personal history.

We cite here an article of his creed:

> "I really and truly believe that the day will come when the kicker will be classed where he belongs, and be entitled to the reverence due him. I look upon him as a philosopher and a philanthropist. He stands forth one man out of ten thousand. He is actuated by the most unselfish motives. He is the real reformer."

We accept this creed heartily, and enjoin it upon all well-affected readers. Our Positivist friends will require no commendation of it, since it affords to men of common mould a way of joining the élite of humanity and of obtaining reverence—in short, of becoming a part of the "Grand Être" to which worship is to be paid—a thing heretofore possible only for geniuses, heroes, and saints. But there is a considerable remnant, after deducting the Positivists from the sum of population—a remnant, wholly indifferent to the worship of future generations, who must be won by prospect of the approval and applause of men of their own time, of which the "kicker" is always secure. He has always the sympathetic regard of his own class—the small but strong band of developed and active remonstrants. He has from the great class of potential kickers—the men of good intent but infirm resolution—the respect and gratitude felt by all right-minded people towards those who stimulate them by high example in working out their own ideals. And from the enormous crowd of *fainéants* the "kicker" receives dull but abject homage, as to a person who accomplishes things which they have dreamed not of. In short, the "kicker" is the Mugwump of private life, with the inestimable advantage over Mugwumps of public life that, by his own single power, he is able at any time to carry out "his bright designs." The political Mugwumps must wait and combine, must argue and convince, must persuade vast numbers that David B. Hill is not a nice person to be Governor of New York, for instance, before they can effect their end; but the social Mugwump is a majority by himself, and, so to speak, elects whatever he elects.

This is the high charm of kickery to those who know the art. It never fails. This result happens, not only because it is always a contest of right against wrong, though adept kicking always is that, and all the eternal forces work for it; but because a great part of the almost invariable success of kicking comes from the more prosaic fact that circumstances always are on its side—such a circumstance as the law, for example. The kicker's injury is likely to be against law; and even when the strict law may chance the other way, the equities are in his favor. Observe the case of "M. Quad" at Niagara Falls. When he had frightened away a mob of swindling hackmen with a revolver, the leader sought to have him arrested for carrying a deadly weapon, but no one would issue a warrant. One justice said: "Every man coming to visit the Falls ought to come with two revolvers, and the oftener he fires into your crowd, the better it will be for the few honest people here. I wish more kickers would come here." Besides the law, there is the constant certainty, in the case of wrongs done by employees of corporations or of the Government, that they are directly opposed to the interests of their employers, and must be disapproved and righted when made known. See how "M. Quad" caused the retirement of the Elmira ticket-seller. In fact, we scarcely know a more grovelling superstition than the common notion that it is by the desire and under the eyes of Presidents and Boards of Directors that one's trunks are smashed, or telegrams delayed or non-delivered, or luggage missent or kept back, or fruit-baskets plundered in transit, or any other form of robbery or wrong, including impertinence or abuse, is committed against the peace of their customers. The fact is very much the other way; and in such cases any one who will make his complaint in the highest quarters is very sure of sufficient amends. The natural inference is always "that as long as no one kicked, everything must be going all right and everybody satisfied;" and that is why the kicker, while defending his own right and maintaining his self-respect, is at the same time a friend of humanity.

In short, kicking, of sufficient quantity and quality, is a remedy for the lesser as well as for the greater evils of life, and whereas, against the latter, joint effort and particularly time and circumstance are required, against the former the kick may always be ready and efficacious, though single. And it is seriously true that a certain preparation for effectual public kicking in affairs of great consequence is the habit of private revolt against small forms of injustice and wrong. A man who will make a baggage-smasher pay for smashing, who will spend five dollars' worth of time to get a twenty-five cent overcharge refunded, who will give a day to removing the cause of a five minutes' delay which has cost him his train, will be ready to deal effectively with affairs of national administration. To "kick" implies high qualities—self-respect (as we have said), self-forgetfulness, contempt of ease, some courage (though not so much as may be supposed), and tenacity of will. These things are not plentiful, but a virtue of the practice of kicking is that it breeds them. And with kicking enough, and good enough, the face of the world would be changed. But if this be so, it may be after all that kicking, in the last analysis, is irreligious, since a doctrine of future rewards would be of little constraining power in a world such as this would be if everybody, upon due occasion, should kick.

LUCIEN BONAPARTE.—II.

PARIS, November 16, 1888.

WE left Lucien Bonaparte in 1810 on his way to America; he was stopped at Cagliari, and the English Consul refused him a passport. He left the port, and found himself arrested, and prisoner of war on an English frigate; he was taken first to Malta and afterwards to Plymouth. After a short residence at Ludlow, in Wales, he was obliged to remain in Worcestershire, where he bought an estate called Thorngrove, and remained quietly till 1814.

He was allowed to return to Rome after the fall of the Empire and the abdication of Napoleon at Fontainebleau. The Pope conferred on him the dignity of a Roman Prince: he became the Prince of Canino. Then came the return from Elba and the Hundred Days. The *Moniteur* of March 21, 1815, announced the return of Napoleon in these lines:

> "The King and the Princes left last night. His Majesty the Emperor arrived at eight o'clock in his palace of the Tuileries. He entered Paris at the head of the troops which left it in the morning to oppose his passage. The army formed since his disembarkation could not advance further than Fontainebleau. His Majesty reviewed several bodies of troops en route, and marched constantly in the midst

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of an immense population which welcomed him."

What would Lucien do when he heard of this miraculous return? He might have remained quietly in Rome, knowing that the Coalition would re-form against his brother; but his brother Joseph, who had rejoined the Emperor almost immediately, pressed him to come to Paris. Napoleon received him with unusual affection; he offered him and placed round his neck the cordon of the Legion of Honor, the same which he had worn from the Island of Elba to Paris. Lucien had no house in Paris; Napoleon told him that he might take the Palais-Royal (the property of the Duke of Orleans, who had left the capital after the return of Napoleon). Lucien installed himself in the Palais-Royal, and kept all the servants that the Duke of Orleans had left behind him. Lucien had been received like the prodigal son, and the Emperor, says the author of the memoir which is before us, promised to restore to him by a *senatus consultum* all his privileges and honors. The *senatus-consultum* was never signed, but in the *Moniteur*, which was then the official paper, Lucien was mentioned several times as His Imperial Highness, as well as his brothers Joseph and Jerome. He was appointed a Deputy by the Electoral College of Isère. The Emperor admonished him that he did not wish him to sit in the Legislative Body. "He suspects me," says Lucien in his notes, "of having a secret ambition to be made President, with the idea of making a new 18th Brumaire against him. I became very indignant. Joseph reconciled us." On June 1 a great ceremony took place on the Champ de Mars. The additional articles to the Constitution of the Empire were proclaimed before the five hundred deputies. The Emperor had on his right Joseph and Jerome, and Lucien on his left; fifty thousand soldiers, or national guards, were present. "Under his plumed hat," says M. Thiers, "the handsome face of Napoleon was grave and almost sorrowful. People looked in vain for his wife and son, and everybody felt the isolation which had been produced round him by the inexorable will of Europe."

Lucien, not having been allowed to sit in the Chamber of Deputies, had been inscribed by his brother among the Peers. The Emperor left for the army on the 12th of June. The news of the disaster of Waterloo arrived soon afterwards, and Count Carnot, Minister of the Interior, the grandfather of the present President of the French Republic, made on the 21st of June the following communication to the House of Peers:

"The Emperor arrived at eleven o'clock, and convoked the Council of Ministers. He announced to them that the army, after a signal victory on the plains of Fleurus [Ligny], where the élite of the Prussian army was destroyed, fought a great battle two days afterwards, four hours distant from Brussels. The English army was beaten the whole day, and was obliged to abandon the battle-field; six English flags were taken, and the day was decided when, towards night, evil-minded parties spread an alarm and occasioned a disorder which the presence of his Majesty could not stay. This disorder was followed by disaster which nothing could check."

This is certainly a most extraordinary account of the battle of Waterloo. The *Moniteur* continued it by saying that the Emperor was going to confer with the Ministers on the means of re-forming the army, and to concert with the Chambers on the legislative measures which the situation rendered necessary. Prince Lucien Bonaparte was introduced with the other Ministers in the Chamber of Representatives. He presented a message from the Emperor, and asked the Chamber to sit in secret committee with the Ministers. The next day another imperial message was brought to both Houses, which was no other than Napoleon's abdication: "My political life is ended, and I proclaim my son, under the name of Napoleon II., Emperor of the French." This message was brought to the Peers by Carnot, and to the Representatives by Fouché, Duke of Otranto.

In the House of Peers, Lucien spoke on the abdication. He moved that the House should declare solemnly that it recognized at once Napoleon II. as the Emperor of the French. "I give the first example, and swear fidelity." A member of the House of Peers, Count Pontécoulant, opposed the motion. "The House," he said, "was not willing to make a decision without formal deliberation"; and, continued he, "I will ask Prince Lucien by what right he speaks in this Chamber? Is he a Frenchman? I recognize him not as such. . . . He invokes the Constitution, and he has here no constitutional title. He is a Roman Prince, and Rome is no longer a part of the French territory." Pontécoulant ended by saying that the son of Napoleon was in the hands of the enemies of the country, and for himself he could not recognize him as his sovereign so long as he did not reside in France. Lucien protested: "I am not a Frenchman in your eyes, I am one in the eyes of the whole nation."

Lucien had opposed to the end the abdication of his brother; he had even proposed to him to make a new 18th Brumaire. Napoleon knew that he could no longer resist; he left Paris, and retired to Malmaison. Lucien received from the Provisional Government an order to quit the French territory. He sent a friend, M. de Châtillon, to Fouché to ask him for passports. Fouché gave him four passports, under different names; on one, the bearer, M. de Châtillon, was entered as Inspector-General of the Post-Office of France, with a special mission in England. Lucien was to be the secretary of M. de Châtillon. One of the passports was in the name of Marquis Rocca-Priora, an Italian nobleman returning to his country. When Châtillon returned with the passports, he found the Palais-Royal, where Lucien waited for him, surrounded by a threatening populace; the palace was guarded by troops. Lucien left Paris in the early morning, and stopped at Neuilly, in the villa of the Princess Borghese. He sent Châtillon to Malmaison, where the Emperor still remained, with a draft on him for 250,000 francs, claimed by him for advances made to the Civil List, for his expenses at the Palais-Royal. Châtillon rode to Malmaison: "The spectacle I found there," he says: "was heart-breaking. In the park, round the castle, on the lawn, were the tents of the last invincible grenadiers of the Imperial Guard. Their attitude showed courage and anger. I saw on their faces that they had no other will but to defend their idol to the last extremity, and to die for him." Châtillon saw the officers of the Emperor's staff, Generals Bertrand, Las Cases, Montholon. He was shown into the room where Napoleon was sitting, and handed him Lucien's letter. Napoleon signed and said: "The Viceroy Fouché will see that this is paid, on my signature"; then he added, "Does Lucien go with me? What are his plans?" Châtillon answered that he did not know; but that he had been obliged to leave the Palais-Royal, which was besieged by the Royalists. King Joseph had taken the road to Havre, where an American ship was waiting for him. Joseph hoped to escape; he hoped also that the Emperor would join him at Havre. "I have thought of that; but no. . . . I cannot leave France otherwise than as a sovereign. I will embark on a war-ship. Tell Lucien to go to England; we will see each other there!"

Châtillon left the Emperor, whom he had seen for the last time, rode to Paris, saw Fouché and showed him the order for the payment of 250,000 francs, signed by Napoleon. Fouché was member of the Provisional Government. Without a moment's hesitation, he did all that was necessary for immediate payment; the sum was paid to Châtillon the same day, and he returned with it to Neuilly. The next day, Lucien left for Boulogne, intending to take refuge in England. Fouché's passports did their work; but as soon as he arrived he changed his mind. He was afraid of being made prisoner, as he had followed the fortunes of his brother during the Hundred Days; he turned his back on England and took the road to Rome. The passports worked again, and he returned to Italy as the Marquis of Rocca-Priora. He was, however, arrested in Piedmont and lodged for a while in the citadel of Turin. After four months of prison he was delivered by the interference of Prince Metternich, and allowed to proceed to Rome. He was really half a prisoner in Rome, and not allowed to leave it till the death of Napoleon in 1821. From that moment he became free, but he remained an exile from France. In 1836 he fell ill, and in June, 1840, while he was on his way to Siena, he died at Viterbo on the 29th of June. He was sixty-five years old. His remains were transported to Florence, where they still are.

It is evident that the book which has now been published on Lucien is an attempt to place his successors on the same footing as the successors of the other brothers of Napoleon. The anonymous author tries to prove that the conduct of Lucien in 1814 and 1815 put an end to his exclusion from the imperial family, as this family was defined by the Constitution of the Empire. Lucien had a son, Pierre-Napoleon, who was born in Rome on the 11th of October, 1815, and led an adventurous life in America, in New Granada, in Ecuador, in Italy, in Albania, and other places. He came to France in 1848, and entered the French foreign legion. When the Empire was reëstablished, Napoleon III. kept him in the background; Prince Pierre was not much seen at the Tuileries, and lived in retirement at Auteuil or in Corsica. He shot in 1870 a journalist, Victor Noir, who had come to his house as a second for Pascal Grousset, who had a quarrel with him; he was acquitted by the High Court of Bourges. Napoleon III. always refused to give his consent to a marriage contracted by Prince Pierre, and it is rather curious that the son of Lucien went through the same difficulties, with respect to his marriage, that Lucien himself did. This marriage had been civilly and religiously celebrated, but, according to the terms of the *senatus-consultum* of the Second Empire, Pierre could not marry without the permission of the sovereign. Prince Pierre Bonaparte died at Versailles, at the age of sixty-five, leaving two children, Prince Roland, born in 1853, who married in 1880 Mademoiselle Blanc, the wealthy daughter of M. Blanc of Monaco; and a daughter, who is married to Marquis Christian of Villeneuve.

Correspondence.

THE PURCHASABILITY OF FARMERS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Everybody knows that it was done,

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and pretty nearly everybody has an idea as to how it was done. It was a timorous prophet who did not chance the guess, before the election, that the result of it would be full of surprises. The prediction was, doubtless, the child of the uncertainty in pretty nearly all minds. It was only the man with no mind worth mentioning who knew all along how the election would turn. I confess to an opinion before and a theory since the election. One of the "surprises" gives the key to it.

A greater surprise than the result of the election itself is the reception given the effort to educate the people on the subject of tariff taxation. In the strong manufacturing localities, pretty generally, the vote in favor of tax reduction is greater than was the Democratic vote four years ago. This shows that the "American laborer," by whom is meant the laborer of whatever nationality engaged in our mills and factories, got his eyes open to the fact that the tariff is a tax, and that it protects the employer but not the employed. This is one-half the great surprise. The other half is the fact that in the agricultural localities, pretty generally, the vote in favor of a high tariff is greater than was the Republican vote of four years ago. These two facts constitute the great surprise of the campaign. What does the second half indicate? Either that the rural voter is thicker-witted than the mill and factory voter, or something else. I think it is something else; and that something marks Chairman "Matt" Quay as the most successful "practical" politician of modern times. He understands where to apply "practical" methods of the Dudley variety, and make them count, in "blocks of five" or more. He knows that a given amount of what the late President Arthur called "soap" will accomplish greater results, if applied among agriculturists, than if applied among men who work for day wages, no matter how small.

A special correspondent of the Philadelphia *Ledger*, who was sent through Indiana, reported as to the progress of the campaign to secure the 15,000 "floaters," that this purchasable vote was not confined to the "bum" class of the cities, but existed in quite as great degree in the rural districts, among men who own the land they till. And I have it on authority not to be questioned, that in some of the richest agricultural counties in New York the votes of farmer delegates to nominating conventions, and later in the elections, are regularly purchasable; that such delegates generally receive from five to ten dollars *and their dinners* for their votes in conventions, and the going price for votes at the elections—else they cannot be counted on. And it makes no difference how well conditioned they are. They may own, clear of debt, from one to four hundred acres of rich land, perfectly improved and stocked, and still they demand their price, and get it.

Chairman Quay knew the value of this vote and the cost of it. He had money enough—more than any chairman of a National Committee ever had before. I quote the *Ledger* again, as the highest authority in this locality, as saying in to-day's issue that the Chairman of the City Republican Committee thinks Philadelphia Republicans "did very well to send Chairman Quay $400,000, besides raising all they did for the city campaign." Other wealthy localities did quite as well according to their abilities, and Quay and Dudley did with the money what Bill Tweed did with his; and they can ask, with quite as much show of impudence as he did, "What are you going to do about it?" It is an awful question to consider; but possibly we may one day vote direct for President, and with a strictly secret ballot; and then the Quays of all parties will have their answer. P. PICKLE.

PHILADELPHIA, November 17.

DID THE TARIFF DO IT?

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The *Nation* of November 15 remarks upon the effect of the Democratic attempt at tariff-reform in some of the principal wool-producing States, and points out that the Republican pluralities in these States in the recent election are much less than they were in 1884. It may not be without interest, in the same connection, to examine the vote of Saginaw County, Mich.

Saginaw County has a population considerably over 60,000, and the cities of Saginaw and East Saginaw, separated only by the Saginaw River, constitute the business and financial centre of the salt and lumber interests of the Saginaw valley. Here the great lumber and salt-producing establishments of the valley are located, and here we have a large laboring population who find employment in, and who are dependent upon, these industries. The manufacturers interested in the production of salt and lumber made a strong fight against the reform policy of the President, and, possessed of ample means, they doubtless used their money in the usual way to convince the workingman that the tariff on salt and lumber was principally in the interest of the workingman and higher wages—with this result: In 1884 the Democratic vote of the county was 7,047, and the Republican vote 5,939, showing a Democratic plurality of 1,108; in 1888 the Democratic vote was 8,924, and the Republican vote 6,723, giving a Democratic plurality of 2,201. Mr. Tarsney, unfortunately beaten for reëlection to Congress by the outside Republican agricultural counties, squarely advocated the Mills Bill, and the putting of salt and lumber on the free list, as did the candidates on the county ticket and other Democratic speakers, who thoroughly discussed the question before well-attended meetings in the cities and throughout the county, with the result above stated. All this would seem to indicate, so far as this county is concerned, that the tariff did not do it, and apparently that this discussion tended to convince the workingmen that the tariff on salt and lumber does not increase their wages; and the greater part of them seemingly voted the Democratic ticket.

It is true that the Republican plurality in the State is much greater than in 1884, the cause of which has been clearly pointed out by the Detroit *Free Press*. In many counties examined the total vote of 1884 was much less than in 1880, the Democratic vote in those counties being greater in 1884 than in 1880, and the Republican vote less. While the total vote this year is very much larger than in 1884—the Democratic increase being over 25,000 above the vote of 1884, fully equal to the increase in population—the Republican vote is enough larger to give the increased plurality over that of 1884, showing that the increase in the Republican vote of this year is largely made up of Republicans who, for reasons easily understood, refrained from voting in 1884. There were some Democratic farmers in this county, interested slightly in sheep, who became frightened at the cry of "free trade," and, not knowing what it meant, thought it must be something terrible, and therefore voted the Republican ticket. Of those the most was made; but as the increase in the Democratic vote was as large, proportionately, in the country as in the cities, it follows that fully as many Republicans as Democrats changed sides.

The Democratic vote of Saginaw County was larger because of the attempt to reform the tariff, and I believe it was larger throughout the State for the same reason. D.

NOVEMBER 17, 1888.

THE DIRECT VOTE FOR PRESIDENT.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I do not see the force of your objection (page 386 of last *Nation*) to a popular vote for President. The necessity for a careful and patient counting of the votes before the result is known may exist under either system, and did occur four years ago in New York; but can we not, after enduring two or three months of racket and uncertainty during the canvass, wait a week or ten days more to learn the result? With improving facilities, the delay would be less and less at every election, while the "strain" you refer to, now due largely to the infrequency of the delay, would certainly be far less if it were a regular and understood thing that the result should not be known for some days.

Nothing could well be stupider or more clumsy than the present system, framed on the theory that the people were not equal to the task of choosing their own rulers, but must depute special individuals to do it for them. Something might, indeed, be gained conceivably were the Electors free to meet, debate, and finally choose either from popular nominees or from others; but we have long ago abandoned this one idea which made the system endurable, and the Electors are now simply machines to record the choice of State majorities.

And the system not only is clumsy and stupid, but *may* work gross injustice—may elect of two men the choice of a small minority of the people. Let a bare majority of the Electors come from States carried by very small majorities, while the other States have been swept by enormous majorities the other way—a perfectly possible case, unless we can show that this could only be from impossible sectional feeling—and it is plain that a small minority of the people might elect.

Why not *vote directly* for the man of our choice? Then a Democrat in Vermont would feel some spirit to vote, knowing that his vote would tell in the grand total, while now it goes for nothing. Then we should see everywhere new inspiration and rallying to the polls. Then there would be an end, also, to the mischiefs of "pivotal States." Of course it will be a gain to separate the national from all other elections, but we want the popular vote.

Respectfully, H. D. C.

EASTPORT, ME., November 19, 1888.

[In the last issue of the Galveston *News* received at this office, published a fortnight after the election, we read: "The official returns of the election in Texas are slow in coming in, and it is probable that the vote of many counties will not be correctly given until the *News* can arrange the returns or the Legislature counts the vote for Governor. The vote for electors is counted the third Monday in this month." The question whether Harrison or Cleveland has a plurality of the popular vote will very likely depend upon the count in Texas, and yet the leading newspaper of that State, two weeks after the election, had no sufficient basis for a judgment as to how large the Democratic majority would prove to be.

Without going more deeply into this question, we will add that it is obvious that the

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longest interval between the November election and the first of March is none too long for the new President to make the necessary arrangements for the personnel of his Administration, and that both he and the outgoing President should at the earliest possible moment be relieved of all uncertainty as to the result of the election.—Ed. Nation.]

THE ENGLISH MISSION.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Your editorial in the last number of the *Nation* upon "The English Mission" touches upon, though it does not discuss, a most interesting topic, viz., the impossibility of an American Minister to England doing his duty to his country without incurring the hostility of the Irish-Americans at home. This duty you have defined in several articles to be the cultivation of friendly relations with the court and people of the country to which he is accredited, and the protection of American citizens against unjust treatment. But if there be a large and arrogant class of his fellow-citizens at home who detest the English Government, and would do everything in their power to cripple it or involve it in a war with the United States, they are pretty sure to vent their rage upon any American representative who accepts or returns the hospitality of the English people, as most of our Ministers for the last fifteen years have found out to their cost. If, at the same time, the unfortunate Minister happens to be named in connection with an important office at home, as, for instance, the Chief Justiceship, he is quite certain at the last moment to find his pathway blocked, be his fitness for the place never so conspicuous.

The truth is, that no American Minister would be entirely satisfactory to this turbulent class who did not spend his time in stumping Ireland for Home Rule and hurling thunderbolts at the Foreign Office—a kind of interference which our English cousins would resent as forcibly, if not as summarily, as we did the unfortunate blunder of Lord Sackville. It makes a wonderful difference, however, whose ox is being gored. The men who denounced the loudest "foreign interference" in our elections are the very ones who eighteen months ago were holding public indignation meetings at the dictation of the Irish, and even inducing our State legislatures to pass resolutions calling upon the English to extend the blessings of home rule—a proceeding of which we are all now as heartily ashamed as we shall be of the Sackville incident in a year from this time.

We are sometimes tempted to ask ourselves whether we have a really independent press in this country, *i. e.*, a press which is as independent *in fact* as it is *in law*. We Americans are said to be unanimously in favor of home rule; yet what has made us so? Is it because we have formed our judgment deliberately upon the merits of the case, or because our newspapers are controlled by, or afraid of, the Irish, and our foreign correspondence and telegrams emanate from Irish sources? Can it be possible that the Irish are always right and the English altogether wrong? It would seem so, judging from the tone of our press; and yet I am informed that among the American residents in London there is a practical unanimity of sentiment directly opposed to that which obtains at home. Is it because they are better informed or not so well informed as we? Is it not still an open question whether our experience with the Irish vote has demonstrated their fitness for self-government, or has disclosed defects of character which, uncontrolled, would be fatal to civil liberty and the rights of a minority? Could an Irish parliament be safely intrusted with the power of fixing the compensation to be paid English landlords for their lands? It seems, from Mr. Davitt's latest utterances, that nothing less than this will satisfy the demands of the Home Rulers.

I have put these questions, not from any antipathy to the Irish, but to show some of the difficulties which beset the path of the American Minister, who would be more than mortal if he did not to some extent imbibe the feelings of those by whom he is surrounded. I think you are quite right in believing that Mr. Harrison will experience great difficulty in finding a man of intellectual or political prominence to fill this place who aspires to be anything more than a social figure-head. John Douglas.

Detroit, November 23, 1888.

THAT DENVER CITY CONTRACT.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: During the campaign I read, time and again, the statement in Republican papers, that a contract for 5,000 tons of iron castings for a Denver Cable Railway had been let to an English firm. The statement was variously used as a campaign argument in favor of high protection. I have also seen frequent mention of the matter in the *Nation*.

I wish to say that this contract for 5,000 tons of iron castings for the Denver Cable Railway has been let to the Centropolis Car Works of this city. The contract was let to the lowest and best bidder, and numerous English and American manufacturers submitted bids, I understand. I write you of the fact, because, from your frequent mention of the campaign "canard," I judge that you will be glad to hear the truth about it.

Respectfully, C. M. Harwood.

Kansas City, Mo., November 24.

THE SEDUCTIVE SIMILE AND THE DOCTOR OF DIVINITY.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The affection which poor old Goriot had for his daughters, was scarcely less masterful than that of most religious writers and speakers for a simile or metaphor drawn from the well of science undefiled. And this love unspeakable is, for some reason, in the majority of instances, requited almost as badly in the latter case as in the former. Rev. Newman Hall, who follows in the footsteps of Homer and compares the race of men with the race of leaves, furnishes, in the *Independent* of November 15, a most choice example of how treacherously the quagmires of an unknown land may entrap the over-confident footsteps of careless wanderers in search of similes. "The leaf is beautiful, yet it fades!" exclaims Dr. Hall; and if he had paused after this apt observation, all would have been well, but some wicked fairy impelled him to continue:

"The leaf fades when its work is done. It has an important function as the lungs of the plant. The sap circulating through its surface receives the oxygen breathed in from the atmosphere. This combines with the carbon, and, by the influence of light, is so changed as to be capable of depositing new material as the vitalizing current descends behind the bark, forming each year a new ring around the stem."

Not to mention the weird "deceptive cadence" in the second sentence, it may be noted that it would be difficult to collect a greater show of inaccuracy than is furnished by the following clauses. The sap does not circulate through the surface of the leaf. It does not receive oxygen. This does not combine directly with carbon. The oxygen is not changed so as to be capable of depositing anything. New material is not "deposited" by the sap. There is no "vitalizing current" behind the bark. A new ring is not formed by descending sap. The "vitalizing" part of the tree does not descend. The new ring is not formed around the stem, nor is it necessarily formed every year. With these few trifling corrections the observations of Dr. Hall may be permitted to pass muster, but without them they are but a fresh illustration of what perennial amusement may be derived from noting the well-meaning but misguided zeal exhibited by the average theologian in pursuit of science. I am, sir,

Conway McMillan.

THE POWER OF THE CHURCH.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: For many years I have looked upon the *Nation* as a good friend to the Church and the ministry. Friends who speak to us the most important truths fearlessly are not so common that we can afford to flout those who thus draw our attention to the most serious ailments.

In speaking of the decline of the power of the Church you are doing the Church a service, and you are again in the right, notwithstanding the objection of your correspondent. After all has been said that can be said regarding changed circumstances, adaptation to the times, and all the various explanations that go to show what a difficult problem is, in these days, presented to the Church, the fact remains that the great lack is in the Church itself. Dr. Marcus Dods says: "Were the members of the Church leading a supernatural life, unbelief in the supernatural would become impossible. Were the supreme, living, present power of Christ manifested in the actual superiority of his people to earthly ways and motives, it would be as impossible to deny that power as it is to deny the power of the tides or of the sun." In spite of the few conspicuous exceptions, is it not true that the Protestant Church to-day stands for prosperity? The wonderful appliances, methods, the unsurpassed activity—may they not be interpreted to mean, how to get on in the world? If it be insisted that the cross of Christ must be accepted as the symbol of the life, is it not an offence, not to the world alone, but also to the Church?

Observe that the attitude of the rulers of the Church toward unwelcome truth, toward unaccredited but truth-loving teachers, is the same as in the time of Christ. Does there arise a bold spirit who hopes for reform from within, he is instantly confronted by the determined opposition of those who have risen to power under the existing order of things, who have come to be recognized as leaders of thought and formulators of opinion. Witness the course of the American Board, and of powerful "religious" newspapers.

The Christianity of the Church and of churchly authority must be displaced by the Christianity of Jesus of Nazareth, and then will it be discovered that the force of Christianity has not spent itself, and why it is that "there is no more power in that force."

Yours truly, Edwin T. Hiscox.

Notes.

Houghton, Mifflin & Co. will soon publish 'The Open Door,' by Blanche Willis Howard.

Longmans, Green & Co. announce 'Son of a

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Star,' an historical romance by Dr. B. W. Richardson, who now, like many another eminent member of the medical profession before him, ventures his reputation in the field of fiction; and 'Masks or Faces: a Study in the Psychology of Acting,' the title which Mr. Archer has finally given to his 'Anatomy of Acting.'

Ginn & Co. have nearly ready a new edition of 'Allen and Greenough's Latin Grammar,' whose last revision was made eleven years ago. The same publishers will have ready in January 'The Leading Facts of French History,' by D. H. Montgomery, author of 'The Leading Facts of English History,' etc.

A wholly new edition of 'Worcester's Academic Dictionary' is promised by J. B. Lippincott Co., with full etymologies, additional words, and fresh illustrations.

P. Blakiston, Son & Co., Philadelphia, have just ready a revised edition of Reese's 'Medical Jurisprudence and Toxicology' and the 'Physician's Visiting-List' for 1889.

The Rev. James B. Converse, Morristown, Tenn., has in press for publication by himself 'The Bible and Land,' a refutation of Henry George.

Charles. T. Walter, St. Johnsbury, Vt., will issue for the holidays 'The Story of the Puritans,' by Wallace Peck, with humorous colored illustrations by Kemble; 'The Legend of Psyche, and Other Verses,' by Carrie Warner Morehouse; and 'The Dorcas Society,' by James Buckham.

The 'Poèmes Complets' of Edgar Allan Poe, translated by M. Gabriel Mourey, with an introduction by J. Péladan, will shortly be published in Paris by M. Dalou.

The Historical Society of Rhode Island, says Mr. S. S. Rider, in his Providence *Book-Notes*, has issued a proposal for the publication of a map of the State, "defining the territories of the Indian tribes, and the Indian names of localities therein, wherever they can be discovered." Mr. Rider has himself, it appears, bestowed much labor on a similar project. It were much to be wished that each New England State would compile such a map.

Though a great number of artists, including the author himself, have furnished the illustrations to Victor Hugo's 'Ninety-three' in the handsome edition of the Messrs. Routledge, the result is not inharmonious, and we rank the two volumes as among the best of the series to which they belong. As we have here, in intention at least, an historical novel, of a time which has been recorded pictorially as hardly no other, the designers had an easy task in borrowing and adapting. A certain number of portraits of Revolutionary characters are given both in action and as pure embellishments; in the latter case leaving something to be desired—say, a facsimile reproduction of old prints.

As a manufactured article, in no respect (save portability) is the edition of the 'Memoirs of Count Grammont' just published by Gebbie & Co., Philadelphia, to be preferred to that we noticed about a month ago (London: Nimmo; Philadelphia: Lippincott). The letter-press is inferior; the illustrations proper—etchings after Delort—are given at second-hand, and not completely. On the other side must be set down numerous familiar portraits of the beauties and mistresses of Charles II.'s court, of Charles himself, of James II., and of sundry courtiers; together with an appendix from Mrs. Jameson giving the lives of Mrs. Lawson, Lady Bellasys, and the Duchess of Portsmouth. The binding is in simple green cloth, in good taste.

A similar comparison must be made between the 'Manon Lescaut' reissued by Gebbie & Co. and the same work as brought out three years ago by Geo. Routledge & Sons. So far as our memory serves, they are identical, being illustrated and adorned by Maurice Leloir. Possibly this is a remnant of the earlier edition, but it *seems* as if the bloom were off and we were dealing with something not quite fresh.

The third volume having the imprint of Gebbie & Co., 'Nuremberg,' owes nothing except legitimately to other sources. It is a small folio, containing on alternate pages Longfellow's poem on the town, and illustrated abundantly by full-page photogravures, mostly of buildings, statuary, and general views within the walls. The Gebbie & Husson Co.'s process has been made use of here. Apparently it admits of considerable retouching, so that one sometimes suspects an engraving to be the base of a plate; but the majority of these have the stamp of nature views, and altogether they form a very pleasant souvenir of one of the most interesting places in the world. Two ladies, Misses Mary E. and Amy Comegys, have contrived the book, and have supplied for each stanza an initial letter, the derivation of which is scrupulously stated in a table. The local color would have been maintained and heightened if these had all been drawn (as none were) from the early MS. and printed book collection in the captivating National Museum at Nuremberg.

The first volume of Schumann's correspondence, turned into English by May Herbert, and published some months ago as an independent volume by George Bell & Sons, London, has just been added to the Bohn series ('Early Letters of Robert Schumann, Originally Published by his Wife.' New York: Scribner & Welford). Two years ago, on its first appearance in Germany, we examined this most interesting collection at some length. The translation has been none too laborious, and is not minutely faithful, paraphrase being frequently resorted to without, so far as we have examined, falsifying the sense of the German text. The public is benefited by having this edition made more accessible.

For "Bohn's Select Library," 'The Perfect Life'—twelve discourses of Channing's—has been taken over from the original series. "Bohn's Artist Library" offers a new edition of the late Mrs. Charles Heaton's 'History of Painting,' a work first published in 1872. Mr. Cosmo Monkhouse, justly thinking it worth the labor, has thoroughly overhauled it, verifying dates, rewriting notices, and supplying judicious footnotes by way of confirmation, correction, or elucidation. He also appends chronological lists of the painters of each country. The chapter on the extinction of painting in Italy has been rewritten by Miss Annie Evans. The work has thus been greatly enhanced in value for reference, while retaining a degree of readableness very uncommon in manuals of this compass.

A very taking edition, cheap only in price, of 'Robert Elsmere' has just been brought out by Macmillan & Co. We incline to think it the best as well as the latest.

Very dainty is the little edition of Macaulay's 'Lays of Ancient Rome,' produced by the Chiswick Press (New York: White & Allen). The type is small, but the judicious display makes it far from illegible. The two ballads of "Ivry" and "The Armada" are appended, and there is a medallion-portrait frontispiece. The American publishers would have done wisely to follow some such model in making over Samuel Waddington's 'The Sonnets of Europe.' They have, in fact, got up a showy rather than a handsome volume.

The 'Chaucer' of the "Canterbury Poets" series (London: Walter Scott; New York: T. Whittaker) has been selected by Frederick Noël Paton, who furnishes an introductory sketch and a glossary. His editing has consisted, apart from these services, in avoiding and omitting what it is no longer possible to read aloud. The volume is very pretty.

Long's translation of the 'Thoughts' of Marcus Aurelius has been added to the "Knickerbocker Nuggets" series of the Messrs. Putnam, where it should on every consideration be found.

A countryman and disciple of Count Tolstoi's has deemed it a service to mankind to make a complete English translation of his 'What to Do' (or, 'What Must We Do Then?'). Renouncing any remuneration for himself, he has offered the manuscript to an American publisher on the sole condition of giving it a popular form and circulation. This has been done in good faith and in fair typography by T. Y. Crowell & Co. We should recommend that the reading of this singular work begin with the "Note to Chapter XL.," with which it closes. It is the most absolute piece of mediævalism that can be imagined, restricting the sphere of woman to bearing children ("the greatest possible number") and reading the Gospel. "In order to appropriate the highest view of life," says Tolstoi, "I think there is no need of [her] visiting lectures."

Dr. A. L. Meissner, well known to our teachers of German through his German grammar (whether in the original or in the Joynes-Meissner shape), has lately published a companion volume, 'Practical Lessons in German Conversation' (Hachette & Cie.) It is prepared for use after the pupil has mastered twenty-eight lessons in the Grammar. We do not pretend to have examined the Conversations in every detail, but we have read enough to satisfy ourselves that the book is well planned and well executed. In the first place, the exercises are truly progressive. In the next place, they are interesting and practical, wholly free from the Ollendorffian "grandfather-shoemaker" business, and introducing such topics as usually interest educated men and women. Perhaps some of the fables and shorter stories might be suppressed. Lastly, the rendering from German into English is extremely close and idiomatic. We have noted a few slips. Of course *erst recht* is a hopeless *crux*; but surely it is not to be rendered by 'also' (p. 41): 'truly' would be better. Nor is old Blücher's *Orientierung* expressed by "topographical survey" (p. 199) any more than it would be by "place-hunting." Shall we speak of the *Kaiserliche Stadt-Post-Amt* as the "Royal Urban Post-office?" "City Post" would be quite enough; the Anglo-American heart rebels against logical renderings of German titles. But all these are very minute blemishes. The book as a book is deserving of high praise, and we commend it to all interested in the subject, with the hope that it will find an American publisher.

One is struck most, perhaps, in looking over the latest bound volume of *Harper's Young People*, with the number of articles which are obviously addressed to parents. Such are those on the forcing system, on the football season, on the care of teeth, on the awkward age, on keeping a diary and having an allowance, on the clothing of children, on the social relations of boys and girls, on the training of their voices, on the moral influence of games, on the choice of a school, on the learning of French and German, etc. These disquisitions, if they did nothing else but induce parents to read what their children are reading, must be judged a useful function of the magazine. Since we lately spoke of the trying type used in the letter-box department of *St. Nicholas*,

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it is fair to say that *Harper's Young People* is open to the same censure. There is among the illustrations a noticeable number of process plates from photographs or from paintings.

The list of contributors to the *English Illustrated Magazine* for the past year (Macmillan) is brief as compared with corresponding magazines in this country, but it is weighty. The contents are mainly insular—of English scenery and coaching ways and art and olden homes—yet not without glimpses and excursions abroad. Mr. Henry James and Mr. Marion Crawford are the two American writers for the volume, and they both offer something of or for their own country—Mr. Crawford his national hymn. The typography and the illustrations of the magazine are, as usual, pleasing to the eye and of a good kind.

The most interesting paper in the *Scottish Geographical Magazine* for November is Mr. A. S. White's "Notes on the Distribution of Trade-Centres," which is accompanied by an excellent map of the world, showing the important productions of each country, the principal trade-routes, both by sea and by land, as well as the ocean cables and prominent steamship routes, with distances attached. The very full and instructive account of the Dutch East Indies by Emil Metzger is concluded in this number.

The November Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society is largely taken up with an account, by Mr. D. W. Freshfield, of the mountains of the Central Caucasus, a region which has just acquired a melancholy interest from the loss in crossing a glacier of Mr. Donkin, Secretary of the Alpine Club, and a Mr. Fox, together with two Swiss guides. Mr. Donkin, son of the late Professor of Astronomy at Oxford, was an excellent amateur photographer, and one of his mountain pictures has been reproduced to illustrate Mr. Freshfield's article. Several of the papers read before the British Association, the most important being Sir F. de Winton's on the "Commercial Future of East Africa," are also given.

The bibliophile princes of the house of Bourbon having been celebrated in a previous number of *Le Livre*, the Bourbon princesses who merited the same epithet are the subject of the leading paper in the October number. An etched group of their portraits completes the parallel. The second paper is by M. Victor Fournel, and treats of the "Dramatic Pastoral in the Seventeenth Century," beginning with the 'Astrée' of Honoré d'Urfé. It is a very interesting review, in which we remark what is said of the seventeenth century being much more concerned with man than with nature. Poets and prose writers, with rare exceptions, were alike deficient in feeling for landscape. "The group of odes written by the young Racine, and collectively entitled 'Paysages, ou Promenades de Port-Royal-des-Champs,' shows us only a got-up (*arrangée*) and slightly Jansenist Nature. What more expressive in its absolutely unconscious simplicity than the stage directions in the prologue to the 'Malade Imaginaire,' which is very characteristic: 'The scene represents a rural spot, but very pleasant withal.'"

No. 32 of the Bibliographical Contributions of the Library of Harvard University is curious indeed. The title, "Mathematical Theses of Junior and Senior Classes, 1782–1839," by no means reveals the ground of interest in this collection. This is to be found in two particulars—the distinction attained by so many of the authors of these theses, usually in fields utterly remote from mathematics; and the preservation of views and measurements of houses and lands in and about Cambridge which have no little antiquarian and pictorial value. There are about forty-four of these surveys, elevations, and perspectives, and it would be a happy thought if some friend of the College would bear the expense of their publication on a uniform scale. Here is James Savage, the prime authority for American genealogy, furnishing a colored view of churches and college buildings; Alexander H. Everett, the diplomatist, a colored "Templi Episcopalis Delineatio Perspectiva"; the future Dr. Jacob Bigelow, a perspective view "of the seat of the Hon. Francis Dana"; the future jurist, Theophilus Parsons, a perspective representation of University Hall; the future clergyman, Alexander Young, and the Latin lexicographer, Frederick P. Leverett, perspective views of St. Paul's Church and David Sears's new house in Boston respectively. If it is odd to meet with Harrison Gray Otis calculating a lunar eclipse for the year of his graduation, and adorning his thesis with a Virgilian epigraph, still more so is it to find his brother orator, Wendell Phillips, on the eve of his graduation, showing "Some beautiful results to which we are led by the Differential Calculus in the development of Functions." Little did the intending lawyer suspect how his own function was to be developed in the eclipse of Otis.

An interesting exhibition is in progress, at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, of Albert Dürer's engravings, etchings, and dry-points, and of most of the woodcuts executed from his designs, together with eight original drawings. The catalogue fills eighty pages.

—The December *Harper's* surrenders unconditionally to the time of year and makes itself a Christmas number, not by virtue of two or three articles, but on the strength of its entire table of contents. The range of entertainment offered is such that only those who refuse to be pleased on principle can fail to find something to enjoy. Even the historical article by Theodore Child, "A Christmas Mystery in the Fifteenth Century," is made attractive to the most casual reader by its light and easy style and striking illustrations, though this is not saying that a closer study will not be amply repaid. It is the most meritorious piece in the whole number, and is greatly indebted to the drawings of M. Merson, whose knowledge of the archæology of the subject enables him to make the scenes of the old ecclesiastical drama lifelike and interesting in a high degree. Mr. Howells has a farce in the style of admirable fooling with which he has made us familiar. Another sample of the dialect story, "Sosrus Dismal," is highly successful in bringing out the superstitious *fond* of the negro, and disappoints only in the sharp corner turned at the end to fetch up with a suspicious bit of pathos. Of the other short stories and sketches, Grace King's "The Christmas Story of a Little Church" is by far the best. A short but satisfactory sketch of F. S. Church is accompanied by a half-dozen engravings from his paintings and drawings. Mr. W. H. Gibson's "Midnight Ramble" is a striking study of what might be called nocturnal botany; the great differences between the appearance of flowers by day and that by night are well shown by his drawings and described by his pen. Anna D. Ludlow has a long and ambitious poem, of which the most that can be said is that two or three times she comes very near writing the strong line which might have helped one to forget the turgidity and triteness of all the rest. Mr. Stedman has a half-dozen swinging stanzas on Morgan, the buccaneer, marred only by two infelicitous rhymes in the last one. We recall no number of a magazine setting out to be a special Christmas issue which achieved so consistent and successful a result as this first number of the seventy-eighth volume of *Harper's*.

—The *Atlantic* moves on with a Puritan's serene unconsciousness of times and seasons, and withal a Puritan's steady adherence to a worthy ideal. The present number does not yield a jot to the supposed demand for "special attractions" at this time of year, except so far as good literature may be attractive—and it may seem to many even specially so in the midst of the rush of merely amusing writing. President Hyde has a short article on the future of the country college. He thinks he sees a permanent place for it midway between the academy and the university. This, of course, depends upon the definition of academy and of college, and upon whether the possibility of the two blending into one, as in Germany, is to be admitted. In any case, social tradition and vested interests will be sure to make the day of the country college continue for a long time, whether the strictly educational argument for its existence can be successfully maintained or not. In "A Flight in the Dark," two Boston girls carry on a dialogue about all the deep things in philosophy, with an audacity that recalls the *Dial* days, with an air of old experience that will make unbelievers laugh, and yet with an intelligence and earnestness which, taken with the occasional dashes of humor thrown in to show that the writers do not take themselves too seriously, win the attention of even a sceptical reader. Mr. Henry A. Clapp furnishes a discriminating study of the artistic life of the late William Warren. Delightful reading is found in Susan Coolidge's "A Convent School of the Last Century." It is the Abbaye aux Bois that is described, and the material is drawn from the diaries of a quondam inmate, Princess Hélène Massalski. The school-girl's artless records leave one wondering anew at the identity of human nature in all ages. In particular do the deep conspiracy and final revolution of the Classe Blanche, to secure the removal of an incompetent teacher, show how the revolutionary spirit was abroad in France at that time. But one poem appears in the number, some anonymous verses entitled "At Alfred de Musset's Grave." That they are printed where they are is a proof that they are worth printing.

—*Scribner's* for December has a seasonable frontispiece in the shape of a bit of winter landscape, and follows it up appropriately with Mr. Hamilton W. Mabie's "Winter in the Adirondacks." To the advantage of being a pioneer, so far as we know, in writing of winter in the North Woods, Mr. Mabie adds a practised style, and is greatly helped by the fine illustrations which face his pages. Altogether, the article attractively opens an attractive number. A distinct addition to the knowledge of most of us is offered in Will H. Low's "Old Glass in New Windows," which hints at the history of glass-staining for decorative purposes, and describes with considerable detail the revival, or almost re-creation, as the writer thinks, of the art in America. The accompanying illustrations are necessarily disappointing. If a painting suffers loss in engraved reproductions, the case must be worse with a stained-glass window. The other art article of the number is a slight sketch of Botticelli, with copies of a half-dozen of his paintings, by George Hitchcock. The poetry is superabundant. There is a certain grace and sad tenderness in Ellen Burroughs's "The Madonna," and a strength which is rugged to the point of shapelessness in the anonymous poem, "The

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Lion of the Nile"; the other poetical performances do not invite comment. The story-telling is complete in itself, with the exception of Mr. Stevenson's new serial, and is done by H. C. Bunner, Rebecca Harding Davis, W. M. Taber, and John J. À Becket. The late Mr. Wallack's reminiscences are brought to a close. The present instalment is pretty haphazard, and of no serious historical value while of slight artistic importance, but will serve to revive many kind memories and past enthusiasms. Thackeray comes into the narrative. Mr. Stevenson's "Christmas Sermon" is the only one of its kind that will be preached this year. His text is taken from the Gospel of Failure, and his meditations thereupon are better fitted, most will think, to the remorseful retrospect of the last day of the year than to the traditional jollity of Christmas. One might guess it was the gloom of Scotch Presbyterianism thus reappearing in the luckless inheritor of its traditions, and sourest, of course, at the time of a fond and superstitious observance of a festival that smacks strongly of popery. This is far from saying, be it noted, that there is not much sound sense and good morals in the rather lugubrious discourse.

—Mr. Ernest Satow, now the British Consul-General of Siam, who resided nearly twenty years in Japan, and is probably the foremost of Anglo-Japanese scholars, has employed his recent vacation in Europe in a characteristic manner. Believing that in the archives of Rome, Lisbon, and Madrid there were many interesting relics of the literary labors of the Jesuit and other Roman Catholic missionaries in Japan of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, he explored these collections during the past spring and summer. He has discovered many interesting facts hitherto unknown, and documents which will throw light upon a period of Japanese history possessing the highest interest for the western world. The publication of his results may be looked for perhaps next year, though the desire for thorough work, for which this tireless scholar is noted, may prompt him to continue his researches. In Japan, also, the study of the native Christianity of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is carried on with ardor by Mr. Séki, the Japanese editor of the *Nichi-Nichi Shimbun* (or *Day-by-day Newspaper*) of Tokio. In this paper, Mr. Séki has recently printed the results of his personal studies, made while in Italy, of the pictures and letters left in Rome by the daimios of Kiushiu, A. D. 1585. These nobles visited the Pope, journeying by way of Mexico, after a voyage of three years. Besides settling interesting points of local interest to Japanese scholars, the letters give a charming picture of St. Peter's, then fresh with the colors of Raphael and Michael Angelo. Among other discovered articles was a portrait of a Japanese noble, Hasékura, of Sendai, who also visited Rome as a Christian delegate to the Pope. This, with other paintings, was found at the house of an Italian noble. It is now within range of easy possibility that we may yet have a scholarly and unimpassioned history, by a native Japanese, of Japanese Christianity. Certainly, the popular verdict concerning the Hollanders, as well as of Taiko and Iyéyasu, needs to be revised, since nearly all that we know definitely concerning the expulsion of Christianity from Japan has been furnished by men between whom and the Hollanders and Japanese rulers no love was lost.

—The Russian Physical and Chemical Society, a committee of which organized very fully-equipped parties at seven stations for observing the total solar eclipse of 1887, has just published in its *Journal* the full report by Prof. Egoroff. The stations were scattered as much as possible through Russia and Siberia, but at only three of them was the sky propitious enough for successful observations. Petrovsk, Krasnoiarsk, and Possiet were the favored localities, the last being on the eastern Asiatic coast. Krasnoiarsk was perhaps the best station of all, the photographers obtaining no less than fourteen excellent pictures. These widely separate localities were specially favorable for the detection of rapid changes in the sun's corona, should such take place; but although nearly two hours of time intervened between the occurrence of the total eclipse at Polotsk and at Possiet, the figure of the corona did not materially change during that interval. It was a repetition of the type of corona previously observed in 1869 and 1878, and corresponded in a general way to the epoch of minimum spots on the sun. The complex coronal filaments about the solar poles are well exhibited on the Krasnoiarsk negatives, and are important as leading to generalizations about the structure of the corona, and ultimately of the sun itself. The vastly extended cloud-areas did not work so complete a wreck of meteorological hopes, although even these results are slender enough. The work of twenty-five separate stations is generalized by Prof. Hesehus, who finds the progress of the lunar shadow followed by a slight lowering of the atmospheric pressure, which is explained by a condensation of atmospheric vapor. The decline of a few degrees in air temperatures was greatest shortly after the total eclipse; and the force of the wind was somewhat diminished, perhaps also on account of condensation of vapor. The usual nocturnal effects upon plants, insects, and animals are represented as well pronounced.

THE RANDOLPH ENIGMA.

Omitted Chapters of History Disclosed in the Life and Papers of Edmund Randolph, Governor of Virginia; First Attorney General of the United States; Secretary of State. By Moncure Daniel Conway, Author of "Pine and Palm," "The Wandering Jew," etc. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1888.

In this Life of Edmund Randolph we have an attempt, as earnest as it is sincere, to restore to its pedestal in our national pantheon the effigy of a statesman who once filled a conspicuous place in the eyes of the whole country. In the elemental stir of the Revolutionary era, and in the formative period which followed it, few names gathered to themselves a more sudden brightness or shone with a serener lustre than the name of Edmund Randolph. The light of those times, fierce as it was, had discovered no public flaw in his character when, in the year 1795, even more suddenly than his sun had risen in the political sky, it went down while it was yet noon, and sank below the horizon in a cloud of obloquy and suspicion. It is the aim of Mr. Conway to rehabilitate the reputation of the distinguished personage to whom, as he thinks, the initiation and the ratification of the Constitution of the United States were especially due; and in rendering this tardy justice to a forgotten worthy he has filled up some "omitted chapters of history" pertaining to the digest of the Constitution, the organization of our Federal Judiciary, and the conduct of public affairs under the Administration of Washington.

Commencing with a lively sketch of society in Williamsburg, Va., while as yet young Randolph was a student of William and Mary College, Mr. Conway gives us a pleasing picture of his early training and high social surroundings. His father, a skeptic in religion and somewhat of a pococurante in politics, was King's Attorney for the Colony of Virginia at the outbreak of the Revolution, and fled, with Lord Dunmore, the provincial Governor, to England. Edmund refused to follow the lead of his Loyalist parent, and at the early age of twenty-two—he was born August 10, 1753—found himself left to win his own way in the world with very limited resources. In the year 1775 he was aide-de-camp on the military staff of Washington, but, having been bred to the law, he soon resigned this post, and was appointed Attorney General of Virginia in 1776. In that same year he sat in the Convention which framed the Constitution of Virginia, the first Constitution formed by any State after the Declaration of Independence. In 1777 he was commissioned as a Delegate to the Continental Congress, and thenceforward continued for several years to serve alternately as a member of this body and as the Attorney General of his State. In 1786 he was placed by the Virginia Legislature at the head of the Commission appointed to confer with similar Commissions from other States in the Annapolis Conference—that prelude of constitutional reconstruction. Later in the same year he was chosen Governor of Virginia, and in 1787 was a leading member of the Federal Convention. The large share he had in the digest of the Constitution was already matter of history, but Mr. Conway sheds new light on the constructive genius which Randolph brought to that great deliberation. It is known that he refused to sign the Constitution in the shape it finally took, but none the less gave to its ratification a zealous support when, in the Virginia Convention of 1788, the question of its adoption or rejection seemed to him the article of a standing or falling Union of the States.

On the accession of Washington to the Presidency in 1789 Randolph was appointed Attorney General of the United States. He organized our Department of Justice under the Constitution. Here, too, he showed his constructive talent by projecting amendments to the Judiciary Act as drawn by Ellsworth. While sympathizing as a Cabinet officer with the general political ideas of Jefferson, he was thoroughly national in his principles of constitutional interpretation. It was at Jefferson's suggestion that Randolph succeeded him in the office of Secretary of State in 1794. Motives of political prudence conspired with motives of political ambition to dictate the resignation of Jefferson. He could no longer bring his positive opinions into correspondence with the non-partisan policy of Washington, and was glad to quit his "hot-water office," though he did not do so without dropping in the ear of the President what Mr. Conway calls "a small deposit of distrust" as to the qualifications of the successor.

Randolph's administration of the State Department covers the aftermath of Genet's demagogy, the Whiskey Insurrection in Pennsylvania, Spanish aggressions in the Mississippi Valley, disunion mutterings in Kentucky, Indian hostilities, and the rumor of British machinations on our northern frontier, to all which was finally superadded the political ferment excited by Jay's treaty. As the official spokesman of the Administration, he was called to educe some sort of formal harmony out of all these discords. It is known that the embarrassments of his position came to a sharp crisis in the complications which attended the ratification of Jay's treaty with England. That treaty was framed November 19, 1794, and was

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approved by the Senate on the 24th of June, 1795, with a reservation of its twelfth article relating to the West India trade—a reservation which would call for further negotiations if that article was to be amended and retained as an integral part of the treaty. The Federalists in the Cabinet were clamorous for an immediate ratification of the treaty, *sans phrase*. The Republicans throughout the country were clamorous for a rejection of the treaty in its entirety, as being insulting to France and detrimental to American interests. While the mind of Washington, torn with anxiety by these civic feuds, was vibrating between the advantages and the disadvantages of the Convention, a British order in council, newly revived for the seizure of the United States provision ships bound to France, suddenly came to give preponderance to his objections against the commercial part of the treaty. The Federalist members of the Cabinet were incensed at this hesitation. Randolph defended it, gave official exposition to the grounds on which it was based, and, in a letter to the President under date of July 12, drew up the project of future negotiations under this head to be conducted with the British Minister, Hammond. The President gave provisional instructions to proceed on this theory, but, before any negotiations in this direction had been opened, he went to Mount Vernon on the 15th of July. On the 22d of July he reiterated his opinion against an unconditional ratification; on the 25th of July he directed Randolph to communicate the grounds of his provisional determination to the other members of the Cabinet; and on the following day it was that Hammond changed this drift of events by placing in the hands of Wolcott, the Secretary of the Treasury, that ill-omened despatch of Fauchet which was big with the fate of Randolph and with the fortunes of the pending negotiation.

This despatch, as our readers know, was an intercepted document which had been captured at sea by a British cruiser, had been forwarded to London, and subsequently sent by Grenville, the British Secretary of State, to Hammond, with instructions to communicate its contents "to well-disposed persons in America" in such way as might be "useful to the King's service."

The despatch purported to have been written by Fauchet, the French Minister at Philadelphia, in report to his Government on the course of events and evolution of parties in the United States. On its face the paper was very damaging to Randolph's official loyalty, and, if read in an invidious sense, was not without its reflections on his personal integrity. At the points where the revelations of the document seemed most incriminating, a reference was made by the writer to former despatches No. 3 and No. 6, of which, indeed, this communication, entitled No. 10, professed to be the key and exposition.

It will be seen at once that such a paper, referring as it did to "precious confessions" alleged to have been made to the writer by Randolph, bristling throughout with injurious animadversions on the financial policy of Washington's administration, taxing his special supporters with a design to introduce absolute power under the military guise of suppressing the Whiskey Insurrection, specifically charging that certain Democratic leaders, "with Randolph, no doubt, at their head," had at one time been balancing in their minds whether they would support the Government or join hands with the Pennsylvania insurgents; and, finally, gravely alleging that on one occasion Randolph had intimated to him that with a few thousand dollars the French Republic might have made itself at this crisis master of the situation by buying up four men among the leading "patriots"—such a document, we repeat, coming to light in a time of popular giddiness and confusion, was well adapted to shake the confidence of Washington in the Secretary whose advice he was following in a critical conjuncture. The Federalists in the Cabinet, Wolcott, Pickering, and Bradford, were quick to see the handle that could be made of the weapon for destroying the influence of their Republican colleague. Accordingly, the President was hastily summoned from Mount Vernon; Pickering, with the aid of his French grammar and dictionary, got up a hasty translation of the despatch; and, on the return of Washington to Philadelphia on the 11th of August, the startling "find" was communicated to him, accompanied by the Federalist Secretaries with the free denunciation of Randolph as a detected "traitor."

At a Cabinet meeting, held on the following day, the whole question of ratifying the treaty was reopened. A hot discussion ensued between Randolph and the Federalist majority. To this discussion Washington put an end with the simple words: "I will ratify the treaty." The conditions previously meditated were dismissed from view. Not a word was dropped as to the cause of this sudden change. Randolph was directed to communicate to Hammond the decision which had been reached, and to do so at once. On the following day the preliminary papers were drawn up. On the 14th of August the President made a friendly visit to Randolph at his home. On the 15th he invited the Secretary to dinner, and repeated the same civility on the 18th; but on the following day—all preliminary arrangements for the signing of the treaty having now been completed—he laid the accusing document before Randolph in the presence of Wolcott and Pickering, with a request that he would read it (the French original was used in this ordeal) and would make such observations on its contents as he judged proper. It is admitted that Randolph read the paper through without blenching. He made at the time some running comments on its several paragraphs, and promised to give at a future day a full explanation of everything in the despatch, so far as it related to him. On the next day he resigned his post, hurried off a day or two later in quest of Fauchet at Newport (R. I.), where he was on the eve of taking ship for France; procured from him an exonerating certificate, and, on the 18th of December following, published the well-known "Vindication."

From that day to this "the Randolph case" has been one of the enigmas of our history—an enigma perplexing alike for its putative implications against the honor of Randolph, and for its putative implications against the candor of Washington in his demeanor towards Randolph from the 11th to the 19th of August, as well as against the President's justice in apparently prejudging the case against his Secretary before any examination could be had into the grounds of an indictment resting on the unsupported allegations of a soured diplomatist.

In spite of the ardent defence which Mr. Conway brings to the exculpation of his hero, it is probable that Randolph will still remain for many minds an enigmatical character, at least in some phases of his case; but that probability only enhances our satisfaction that this book has been written, and that it has been written in the spirit of a genuine biographical enthusiasm for its subject. Alike for his talents, which were great, for his services, which were sometimes as solid as they were brilliant, and for his misfortunes, which were pathetic, it was fitting that Randolph should have, even at this late day, the benefit of a motion for arrest of judgment in the grand assize of history. The case that was made out against him in the court below—a Cabinet council embittered against him by the very patriotism of its members—was a case which rested purely on "suspicions," and on suspicions drawn from a very suspicious document written by a very suspicious person, cast on our shores by the eruptions of the French Revolution in its most volcanic period. In the nature of the case, it was almost impossible to traverse charges at once so insinuating and yet so nebulous as those which left their blight on the name and fame of our second Secretary of State; but in order that the enigma which these charges create may be seen in its just proportions, it seems to us that we should carefully discriminate between the suspicions which properly relate to Randolph as a public officer, and those which relate to him as a man of truth and honor. When this distinction is clearly grasped, we shall probably find in it a solution of the enigmatical manner in which Washington addressed himself to the earlier aspects of this distressing complication; and with this clue in hand we may perhaps find a resolution of the main point at issue against Randolph himself, an issue which concerns his personal honor as something much more worth preserving than his repute for official prudence.

It is plain that Washington, for reasons discovered to him after his return to Philadelphia on the 11th of August, was suddenly minded to take away his confidence from Randolph as a safe adviser at that trying moment. Having determined to do so on the strength of the suspicions excited by the Fauchet despatch, he was probably confirmed in that resolve by another document which suddenly came to increase the involutions of this embroglio. Mr. Conway tells us that on the second day after the return of the President from Mount Vernon, the Secretary placed in his hands that most surprising despatch of July 29, 1795, the purport of which, as abbreviated by Washington, is given in the twenty-fourth chapter of this volume. Mr. Conway might have found the full despatch in the archives of the State Department. So far as we know, it has never been published. On its face it helps to make the darkness of the Randolph enigma only the more visible. In that paper Randolph writes to Monroe, our Minister at Paris, to put him on his guard against the truthfulness of any representations which Fauchet shall make to him on returning to France. It is further averred in this same communication that Fauchet, from the first moment of his career in the United States, "had wrapped himself round with intrigue"; had pretended great attachment to the President while secretly hostile to him; had associated chiefly with enemies of the Administration; had been in close league with Genet while professing to disapprove of his course; and had sought to worm out the secrets of the Government from certain members of the Cabinet, of whom, adds the Secretary, "I am not one." When it is remembered that *this* despatch, under Randolph's own hand, was communicated to Washington on the second day after the intercepted despatch had been brought to his notice, it will be easy to see that the President might well have his confidence shaken in the perspicacity of his Secretary, who, if not misleading, had confessed himself to have been steadily misled by the wily Frenchman. On the supposition of Randolph's guilt, this letter was a blind, and involved a fresh imputation on his straightforwardness. On the supposition of Randolph's innocence,

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the letter was a new accusation against his prudence. It is not surprising, therefore, that the President, in view of this letter, was the more resolved to overrule the Secretary whose advice he had been following in a public transaction which called for the gravest circumspection. And certainly Randolph could not have been sufficiently circumspect if what he said about Fauchet were true. If what Fauchet said about *him* were true, then the grounds of suspicion against the Secretary were deepened. The ambiguity was bifurcated.

But it is important to observe that the decision of the public question immediately in hand did not carry with it any foregone decision of the case raised against the integrity of Randolph by the allegations of Fauchet. For, after the decision of this public problem had been reached, we find Washington frankly admitting, in his own careful study of the Randolph incident in every conceivable light (as preserved in the paper handed to Wolcott), that subsequent inquiry might result in the unequivocal acquittal of the Secretary. This fact alone suffices to show that the treaty question had been decided on grounds entirely irrespective of the question raised by the despatch as to Randolph's probity. On the decision of this latter question would depend his retention or dismissal as a member of the Cabinet. The anxiety of Washington to do exact justice in the premises is proved by the pains he took to provide himself with a conspectus of all the elements in the case. He made for his own enlightenment an elaborate abstract (indited in his own neat hand) of all the letters written by Randolph to Monroe during the period of Jay's negotiations, and later down to July 30, 1795. Then he made a careful brief of Fauchet's despatch. It is probable that this work was done in the interval between August 11 and August 19. It is certain that the abstract of Fauchet's despatch was made from Pickering's translation or from some contemporaneous recension of it, because the textual citations which Washington makes are not taken from the authentic version as published in Randolph's "Vindication." When the "Vindication" appeared, Washington made an abstract of it also.

It is, as we conceive, from a failure to make a proper discrimination between these two possible aspects of Randolph's case that Mr. Conway never essays any defence of Randolph's career which does not seem to imply that the private honor of the man was bound up with the impeccability of the Secretary; and in like manner he formulates no theory of Washington's conduct in the affair which does not proceed either on the hypothesis of Washington's decaying intellect at this period, or on the still more improbable hypothesis that Washington, in the exercise of a pitiless and remorseless patriotism, consented to the destruction of his friend as a vicarious sacrifice, offered up without blemish or spot, to appease the malignant powers then working for the ruin of the country. It seems to us that "'twere to consider too curiously to consider so." The enigma is better solved by supposing a divided duty on Washington's part adjusted to meet a divided view of Randolph's conduct as a man and as a public officer. There is nothing abstruse or disingenuous in such a psychological dichotomy. We can find an exact parallel to it in the conduct of Randolph himself. Even after he had, as he reports, discovered the criminal duplicity of Fauchet, he tells Monroe that on the eve of the trickster's departure for Europe he invited Fauchet to dinner, and made a proffer of friendly services, which, if due to him from motives of political prudence or of public duty, were certainly in no wise due to him either as man or minister.

The situation of Randolph in the hour and article of his doom lacked no element of the tragical. By his letter to Monroe of July 29 he had smutched the character of Fauchet as that of an unscrupulous villain. By Fauchet's intercepted despatch it appeared as if Randolph had been the confidant of this dissembler. Yet when confronted with the damaging paper, it was the cruel necessity of Randolph's equivocal position that he was bound to make an appeal for justification to the very man who had stabbed him, and to seek a certificate of exoneration from the diplomatic adventurer whose truth and honor he had just discredited. In the archives of the French legation at Philadelphia Fauchet always described Randolph as "an honest and upright man." In his letters home he complained that Randolph "played the sincere and made false confidences to him." Hence it is that in the matter of Randolph's guilt or innocence, we entirely concur with Mr. Trescot in dismissing from our sight the exculpatory letter given by Fauchet to the ex-Secretary. Two rays of light countering against each other make darkness, but two rays of darkness do not make light by their antithesis. Fauchet could not erase his stigma by a few scratches of his pen, for it was not the scratches of his pen which had made the stigma. The sole sting of his despatch was in the apparent circumstantiality of his statements.

The trials of Randolph did not end with his political overthrow. He was prosecuted as a defaulter, and, at the end of a long litigation, a formal judgment was entered up against him. Nothing perhaps helped more to barb the poisoned arrow of Fauchet than the well-known fact that Randolph, "the St. Sebastian of all arrows," as Mr. Conway calls him, lived in a state of chronic pecuniary embarrassment, and this from no prodigality of his own, but from pious duty to dependent relatives. To this day his name is borne on the registers of the Treasury at Washington as a debtor to the United States in the sum of $60,000. We have satisfied ourselves that the default is, as Mr. Conway represents, a purely fictitious one; that the technical claim of the Government has been more than satisfied, and that gross injustice is done to Randolph's memory by the perpetuation of this unmerited reproach.

If compelled to make our own résumé of the blended good and evil in the life and fortunes of Randolph, we should still recur substantially to the judgment of Madison. He said: "Randolph's greatest enemies will not easily persuade themselves that he was under a corrupt influence of France, and his best friends cannot save him from the self-condemnation of his political career as explained by himself." In saying that Randolph's own "Vindication" involved a "self-condemnation of his political career," Madison means that the non-partisan attitude affected by the Secretary as between the Federalist and the Republican parties, in their then existing stage of differentiation, had become impossible. In this view Madison was plainly right. Randolph's career as Secretary of State covers the birth-pang of party government in our country. Parties there had been before, but government by party dates among us from the ratification of Jay's treaty and the fall of Randolph as a professedly non-partisan Secretary. From that time forth even Washington was unable to effect a synthesis of divergent political opinions, and was constrained to rule as a Federalist chief. No Republican would take the portfolio which Randolph dropped from his hands in indignation and disgrace.

If compelled to construct a psychology of our own for the explanation of the enigmatical character of Randolph as a man and as a statesman, we should say, under correction, that with none of Wentworth's "Thorough" he had too much of Falkland's large discourse of reason and too little of Falkland's executive faculty for grasping the horns of a political dilemma when, in a time of storm and pressure, a choice must be made at the dividing of ways. Mr. Conway tells us that it is a family trait of the Randolphs to "look on the other side" of every question, and to "make the most of its claims"; that Edmund Randolph had "a refining mind"; that there was nothing of the "irreconcilable" in his nature; that he always had "a provoking ability to conceive that he might be wrong," which maimed his capacity for leadership; that he had the large mind which is long in its poise, and was "incapable of partisanship." It seems to us that the learned biographer has not made a sufficient use of his own psychological analysis in explaining the checkered fortunes of Randolph's career. We here perhaps may find the very *mot* of the Randolph enigma, if it can only be admitted that this remarkable man had the defect of his qualities. This mental peculiarity may not only explain his infelicities as a man of affairs, but may also account in a measure for the harsh delineations of his character as drawn by political friends like Jefferson, and by political enemies like Wolcott and Pickering. Even Jefferson's libellous caricature, as Mr. Conway holds it, may perhaps be blended into a composite photograph of Randolph's political physiognomy without entirely destroying its verisimilitude. What to Jefferson seemed the inconstancy of a "chameleon" may have been the receptiveness of a large mind, reflecting many aspects of opinion by virtue of its very many-sidedness. Such men are always liable to be misunderstood and will often be denounced as "trimmers"; they will often prove irresolute in action, and so, in times of stress, are liable to be crushed, as Randolph was, between the upper and the nether millstones of partisan conflict. We suspect there was a streak of *Hamlet* in the fine porcelain of Randolph's nature.

We feel so much indebted to Mr. Conway for the contribution he has made to our knowledge of an interesting and obscure epoch in American history, that we forbid ourselves to indulge in criticism on the arrangement of his materials; but there are points in his narrative where, as it seems to us, he has not duly profited by the Horatian maxim, *Tantum series juncturaque pollet.* In a second edition we would advise that the full text of Randolph's remarkable letter of July 12, 1795, should be given in explication of the even balance of opinions involved in the ratification or rejection of Jay's treaty. Nothing finer in the way of analysis ever came from the "refining mind" of Randolph. The letter to Monroe, under date of July 29, 1795, should also be given in its entirety, with a discussion of its possible relation to the nexus of events which combined to seal the Secretary's fate in Washington's mind. The proof-reading of the volume leaves much ground for complaint. We began a collection of misprints, but found that we could not cope with their number and variety.

CHILDREN'S BOOKS.

As the holiday season approaches, Mr. Howard Pyle comes before us again with a book "written and illustrated" by himself. 'Robin Hood' and 'The Wonder Clock' are succeeded by 'Otto of the Silver Hand' (Scribners).

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Merry England and Fairyland are followed by mediæval Germany. It is a tale of robber barons and holy monks, of peaceful cloistered days, and wild nights of fire and blood, that is here told—and well told in the main; a tale of incident that would be thrilling if only the actors had a little more vitality in them. They play their parts spiritedly enough, kill and are killed, bless and curse, and love and are made love to in a quite lively and satisfactory manner as long as they are on the scene, but they never come to life and walk off about their own business; one feels that between their exits and their entrances they are lying quite peacefully in their box doing nothing, and that when the curtain is rung down, a little change of paint and costume will fit them for other rôles to come. There is nothing kenspeckle about them, and with new properties and furnishing they may, with skilful handling of the wires, strut through many another piece.

The English is straightforward and transparent, but not as simple as is usual with the author, and the book is marred by passages of commonplace eloquence like the following:

"Beyond these squalid huts lay the rushing, foaming river, spanned by a high, rude, stone bridge where the road from the castle crossed it; and beyond the river stretched the great, black forest, within whose gloomy depths the savage wild beasts made their lair, and where in winter time the howling wolves coursed their flying prey across the moonlit snow and under the network of the black shadows from the naked boughs above."

This is "the right butter-woman's rank to market;" and the steady, jug-trot pound of the adjectives is annoying to a sensitive ear.

To create living characters is rare; to attain to perfection in style is rare. If Mr. Pyle has not done these two rare things, he has made a good story and told it in sound language, and these things also are rare enough. As far as the text is concerned, the balance must incline to the side of praise. How of the illustrations? The answer to this question depends largely upon what one may consider to be the true limit of imitation. No one can look long upon the drawings in any one of these three books of Mr. Pyle's without thinking of Dürer. The imitation is patent in style and handling. Well, it is a good style, and has been imitated before and will be imitated again; and if one has not a style of his own, he could pick up many a worse than this. And the imitation is singularly good. One admires this easy mastery of an Old-World manner by an artist of our day and country; it is strangely like the real thing Yes, it is *too* like the real thing. As one looks, a bit here and there—a stump, a wing, the rump of a great white horse—assumes a strangely familiar air, and one begins to realize that Mr. Pyle has made other use of his portfolio of old engravings than the study of a method and the absorbing of a manner. Where does this stop? Where does imitation cease and direct copying begin? What is Mr. Pyle's, here, and what is Dürer's? It is impossible to say. Much there must be of Mr. Pyle's own, and much that is good and strong enough to stand alone; but when suspicion is once aroused it covers everything alike. Mr. Pyle is an artist of ability and training. Let us beg of him to stand upon his own two feet that we may judge his stature, and not, by mounting on the shoulders of a taller man, make himself seem shorter than he is.

Mr. Chester Loomis's illustrations of Mother Goose ('Familar Selections,' E. P. Dutton & Co.) seem to invite a dangerous comparison, for their similarity in general style to M. Boutet de Monvel's delightful illustrations of French popular songs is unmistakable. It is hardly necessary to say that such a comparison would not be favorable to Mr. Loomis; but comparisons are odious, and we will not make any. Taken by themselves, Mr. Loomis's drawings have very considerable merit; they possess much delicate humor and a fine flavor of naïveté, and they show a decided decorative sense. They are, as all colored illustrations should be, in pure outline and flat tint, without modelling, and the color schemes are generally delicate and well chosen. In short, Mr. Loomis's work is altogether right and sound in style, and if not the best *in* its style, is very nearly as good as the best.

It is probably safe to assume that Mr. Palmer Cox's 'Queer People with Paws and Claws' (Philadelphia: Hubbard Bros.) will be as popular with the children as were those other queer people, 'The Brownies.' More experienced palates may find the flavor of both drawings and text somewhat crude and insipid; but little folks have simple tastes, and this food is at least pure and wholesome, and there is not an indigestion in a platter-full of it.

A juvenile classification may not injuriously be given to the stout volume called 'Library of Universal Adventure by Sea and Land,' which has been compiled and edited by Messrs. W. D. Howells and Thos. Sargeant Perry, and published by the Harpers. The is nothing to indicate the part of each editor in this undertaking, but we will hazard a guess that Mr. Perry has had the laboring oar. From the youthful point of view, this collection leaves little to be desired in point of range and variety. Capt. John Smith's captivity among the Turks, Capt. Cook's fate, Baron Trenck's sufferings, the mutiny of the *Bounty*, even the horrors of the Black Hole of Calcutta (though the last would seem to be ruled out by the editorial definition of "adventure" as something personal) are all to be found here; but we have also more modern episodes, like Louis Napoleon's escape from Ham, Dr. Judson's imprisonment in Burmah, Frederick Douglass's escape from slavery, and Owen Brown's flight after Harper's Ferry. Sport is not neglected, but Sir Samuel Baker is not drawn upon. In the American section one might have expected to find something from Lewis and Clarke.

The editing is somewhat open to criticism. In general, the condensation and abstracting resorted to impair one of the uses of such a collection, viz., the comparison of styles. Then, it is not easy to distinguish between the editorial insertion and the original narrative—to determine, for example, who is responsible for the expression, on page 519, "He was not long, however, before he made another effort to recover his liberty." Acknowledgments of the sources are not always made, nor uniformly, as at the beginning or end of an extract. This is slovenly, and so has the proof-reading been. "Two or three excepted; they were unacquainted with each other," we read on page 521; "Sièyes," on page 546; "Waterman," in the table of contents, for Waterton, etc. An error which has been adopted on trust is the spelling of Meriam with double *r*, in Owen Brown's story. But this is a slip which John Brown's latest biographer falls into. It is also misleading to say, as on page 270, that this companion of Brown's "was of the wealthy Massachusetts Merriams." The cuts are numerous, but hit or miss, being taken according to the nearest aptitude from the publishers' store of blocks. That on p. 276 is ludicrously far-fetched. Finally, should not such veteran book-makers have provided an index?

'Zigzag Journeys in the Antipodes' (Boston: Estes & Lauriat), by Hezekiah Butterworth, is marked by the excellences and faults of its predecessors in this series. The book is attractively got up, and the illustrations are numerous and excellent, but the text is far too evidently written for the pictures. As these often have nothing to do with Siam, the ostensible subject of the journeys, there is an irritating disconnectedness between the various chapters. These are simply a patchwork of stories, extracts from books or papers, and wandering reflections, pervaded with a gentle sentimentality chiefly in regard to cruelty to animals. The amount of information about the antipodes, compared with the size of the volume, is small, though no doubt correct.

The heroes of 'The Boy Travellers in Australasia' (Harpers), by Thos. W. Knox, visit the Sandwich Islands and various other groups in the south Pacific before they reach Australia and New Zealand, descriptions of which form the principal part of the volume. This earlier portion we have found more entertaining than the latter—we presume from the fact that many of the chapters on the English colonies are so packed with facts and statistics as to make the reading of them like eating pemmican. The author would have left on his young readers a far more lasting impression of the wonderful growth and present condition of these colonies, had he selected a few of the most important facts and dwelt upon them. As it is, however, this series stands easily at the head, so far as our knowledge goes, of its class of "imaginary voyages"—a field of literature which we hope is about exhausted. The book is excellently manufactured, with maps conveniently placed upon the inside covers at either end. It, together with those preceding it, might be used to advantage in schools in connection with lessons in geography.

'The Knockabout Club in the Antilles' (Estes & Lauriat), by F. A. Ober, is a rambling description of the various West Indian islands, written to accompany pictures of all degrees of excellence and appropriateness. It contains considerable information, and enables the reader to form a fairly strong impression of the life and scenery of the places visited. Had the author omitted the humorous passages in which he vainly strives to lighten the monotony of his narrative, and been more careful to avoid error in his historical summaries, his book would have been more valuable.

Considered as a story simply, 'The Cat of Bubastes' (Scribner & Welford), by G. A. Henty, is the most interesting of this prolific writer's tales which we remember. The scene is laid partly on the shores of the Caspian and partly in Egypt, forty years before the Exodus, and there are many good descriptions of the life, amusements, and religious observances of the Egyptians of that time. The author attempted too much, however, in introducing Moses into one of his chapters, and he gives a very shadowy impression of the Hebrews. Their district is invariably spelled Goschen, an innovation for which the present Chancellor of the Exchequer is probably the innocent cause. The illustrations are fair.

It is only natural that the first part of 'Children's Stories of the Great Scientists' (Charles Scribner's Sons), by Henrietta Christian Wright, should be better adapted to the reading of children than the last. The stories of Galileo, Newton, Franklin, and Linnæus, telling, as it were, of the beginnings of science, lend themselves easily to a picturesque and graphic treatment, while this is almost impossible in narrating the discoveries of Lyell, Agassiz, Tyndall, and Darwin. The author has been very successful in the early chapters, that on Linnæus being especially interesting; but in the latter she has apparently forgotten

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that she was writing for the young. We have noticed more errors than should have crept into a work of this character, the most important, perhaps, being that which makes Concord, Mass., and not Concord, N. H., the early home of Count Rumford.

THE STORY OF TURKEY.

The Story of Turkey. By Stanley Lane-Poole, assisted by E. J. W. Gibb and Arthur Gilman. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1888.

THE study of history is a serious matter—not because history repeats itself, as Dr. Arnold used always to be saying, or that a knowledge of Thucydides may be as useful to an American statesman as personal experience, or because, as Hegel remarked, an historian is a prophet turned round; but because the history of the past helps to explain to us the present. D'Haussonville says: "It is certainly not in the past that we must seek the key of the future. Events succeed one another after certain rules, and are not reproduced. Even when you are most tempted to find them nearly the same, you discover more difference than resemblance." But in knowing the chain of events which link the past to the present, in understanding how and in what way any nation or country has come to exist as it exists to-day, we have the key to the contemporary politics of that country. This is the point on which Freeman and the new school of historians lay great stress, either in so many words or by implication. But serious as it is when considered in this way, history can be made very entertaining, and be so flavored as to suit the lightest palate and the most delicate digestion. Certain historical periods are so wonderfully interesting that they can be written so as to be as amusing as a novel, or can even be easily described in novel-form. From this point of view, however, we are inclined to agree with Miss Mitford that the *mémoires pour servir*, the materials for history, are more amusing than the history written from them.

Unfortunately, the book before us is not of a kind to satisfy either those who read for instruction or those who read for amusement. It is not sufficiently detailed for the latter; and as for the former, its faults may easily be imagined from its title. At first sight, one thinks "The Story of the Nations" is not a bad idea; but on a moment's reflection one sees the danger of a lack of historical perspective—that the picturesque side, the story and not the history, will be given, and that each writer will so espouse his subject as to magnify the virtues, minimize the faults, and even conceal the crimes of the nation about which he is writing. All of these faults can be found in the present volume, which labors also under the difficulty that its chief author is an Englishman; and passion for or against Turkey or Russia has so taken possession of Englishmen nowadays that it is the hardest thing in the world for them to treat either country with impartiality. Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole is, we believe, a relative of the well-known Arabic scholar Lane, the author of 'Modern Egyptians' and the translator of the 'Arabian Nights.' He is himself an Arabic scholar (which he shows too much here in preferring Arabic to Turkish spelling), and is an authority on Eastern numismatics; but apparently he had never occupied himself with Turkish history until, as his literary executor, he edited the biography of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, which naturally gave him a strong pro-Turkish bias.

As a history, the volume before us cannot for a moment be compared with two books of about the same size, the 'Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman,' by Le Vicomte A. de la Jonquière—one of the historical manuals published by Hachette, an excellent, trustworthy, and entertaining book—or the 'Ottoman Power in Europe,' by Prof. E. A. Freeman, which, although in a certain way prejudiced, is the best book on the subject in English. Even as a story, it is below both of these books. It is made up chiefly from the 'History of the Ottoman Turks,' by Sir Edward Creasy, himself a condenser of Von Hammer's large history, and from the book of Knolles and Ricaut, published in 1680, of which Horace Walpole says: "Considered as history, it is a collection of fables; and as to style, it is the most tiresome book in the world, with periods a page long." Surely, there was no necessity for printing in black-letter a translation from Froissart; and if the book had to be made up of extracts, there were in the last century a number of men—to say nothing of Lady Wortley Montagu—who wrote amusing accounts of Turkish politics, life, and manners, although they might have to be translated from French, Italian, or even Russian. The chapter on the conquest of Constantinople is avowedly almost entirely quoted from Gibbon. It was probably the best thing that the writer could do, although modern scholars have corrected Gibbon's account in several particulars.

As to the illustrations, some, like the landscape views, the medal of Mohammed II. (pp. 102-3), the portraits of Suleiman (pp. 166, 180, and 192), and of Roxolana (p. 196) are excellent. Others, like the view of St. Stephen's Cathedral at Vienna (p. 228), and the mosaic of St. Sophia (p. 326), have nothing to do with the subject. Others, like a Turkish merry-making (p. 16), a Turkish meal (p. 66), the plan of Constantinople (p. 108), were probably interesting in the original size, but are here so reduced as to be unintelligible. Others, like the battle of Prince Jem (p. 142), may have been interesting when originally published, but, being neither contemporary pictures, nor based on a study of life at that time, are out of place. Others still are simply absurd.

As far as historical perspective is concerned, after taking out three chapters which will be considered later, there are 255 pages devoted to history, of which 204, or four-fifths, are given to the rise of the Turks; yet in all this space we are not told who or what the Turks really were, or why they rose so quickly. A picturesque episode like that of Prince Jem, to which in Hammer there are given about thirty pages of the whole eighteen volumes, and in Jonquière's about two pages out of 650, is here stretched out to fill a chapter, and is not well done in that. The part played by the Turkish navy, and especially by the great Khair-eddin Barbarossa, the understanding of which is necessary to any knowledge of Turkish history, is entirely omitted, in order to form a separate volume of the 'Story of the Corsairs,' which can be so easily abridged from the French of Jurien de la Gravière, or still better from the Italian of Guglielmotti. The story of the decadence of Turkey, which to us would be far more interesting than that of its rise, because it would explain to us the present condition of the Ottoman Empire, and why vigorous young Christian nations should be developed out of its ruins, is condensed into fifty pages. The author, in a simple-minded way, gives as a reason for this treatment that: "To tell the various stages of decay in detail would only weary the reader with a catalogue of defeats, varied by occasional reprisals" (p. 207). In the twenty-five pages called "The Sick Man," from 1812 to the present time, with the exception of the longish and rather unnecessary account of the diplomatic activity of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, there are almost more errors than sentences, some of them dragged in arbitrarily through dislike of Russia, as where it is implied that the victory of Russia in the last war was rather owing to bribing the Turkish commanders than to good fighting, or through suspicion of Mr. Gladstone's foreign policy.

Three chapters are contributed to this volume by Mr. E. J. W. Gibb, who is favorably known for his studies on Ottoman poetry, of which the chapter on Ottoman literature is practically a summary. He succeeds in showing us how feeble and uninteresting Turkish poetry is when compared with Persian; but he gives too little attention to the prose literature. He might well have inserted some remarks about the chronicler Vassyf, and about Resmi Ahmed Effendi, who wrote a very amusing account of his embassy to Frederick the Great, as well as a history of the Turco-Russian war of 1769-1774, extracts from which appeared in *Macmillan's Magazine* for 1880. The chapter on Stambul is weak and wordy, although it endeavors to give a picture of life in the Turkish capital in the eighteenth century. That on Ottoman administration is a dry catalogue of the names of Turkish dignitaries in olden times, compiled from the well-known 'Tableau Général de l'Empire Ottoman' of Mouradjea d'Ohsson. We get tired of hearing about the Kilar Kiyahyasi, or controllers of the buttery, of the Bostanji Bashi, or of the Top Arabaji Bashi. We do not care for more than a general description of the Sultan's household in early times, but we should like to know something about the real working of Turkish administration, and especially of provincial administration before the reforms of Mahmoud II. in the early part of the present century: why those reforms were necessary, what they were, and why they have not succeeded. We are put off with a catalogue of eunuchs, gardeners, pages, and cooks; but perhaps, if we look at it philosophically, we may find in this very catalogue a partial answer to our questions.

Western China. By Virgil C. Hart, B.D. Boston: Ticknor & Co.

THE "Province of the Four Streams," or Szchuen, was once the largest of the eighteen provinces of China, and anciently contained the capital of the Empire. Though rarely visited by foreign travellers since Marco Polo's time, it is in many respects the most interesting of all the divisions of the Middle Kingdom. Its people are noted for their devotion to literature, religion, and art. Into it the Buddhist missionaries from India first came and began the propagation of their faith. In natural beauty and luxuriance, and in the evenness of distribution of the wealth of its inhabitants, it leads the other provinces. One obtains a good idea of the self-sufficiency of Chinese resources and civilization when he realizes that this western province, which is farthest from the ocean and from contact with the outside world, ranks with the best of the divisions of the Empire, and excels many of them in population and material and intellectual wealth. In its area of little less than two hundred thousand square miles it maintains a population of forty-five millions. Considering the large amount of land occupied by mountains and infertile tracts, in addition to the acreage devoted to the cultivation of the poppy for smoke, and millet and Indian corn for intoxication, the superiority of Chinese economy over that of the West is manifest.

The valuable portion of the soil is comprised within the four natural basins formed by the

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rivers running north and south, and these occupy what is a rough eastern half of the area. Besides the Chinese inhabitants, the tribes of the Lolo people, with whom Mr. Baber has made us acquainted, live in those intervales and mountain-fastnesses of the western half of the province which are properly part of the high tablelands of Thibet. The feuds of centuries are still maintained, and the Chinese, unable, despite their forts and garrisons, to control these mountaineers, suffer from their man-stealing propensities, and considerable number of people in the valleys and lowlands are annually murdered or enslaved by the raiding Lolos. In addition to the abundant crops of every staple known in China, Sz-chuen is noted for its well-regulated supply of natural gas, which, after a flow of over eighteen centuries, seems inexhaustible. The "fire-wells," being near the great rock-salt deposits, are utilized to boil the kettles of brine pumped up from the strata, which are bored by native machinery of wood, bamboo, and iron.

In the municipalities of this, as of other parts of China, the habits of the people, the excess of the rapacious official class, the jealousy and intermeddling of the Government, and the lack of the proper corporations to levy taxes for the requirements and necessary expenses of city economy, tend to paralyze public spirit. Yet, despite all their discouragements and the defects of their political system, the people seem to take a noticeable pride in what we consider to be public works and ornaments. Foot-paths from village to village, broad roads wide enough for two teams and paved with flagstone between the cities, stone memorial arches and gateways, substantial bridges of masonry, colossal bronze images, and artistic metal work of an elaborate and imposing sort, testify to the local pride and artistic spirit of the inhabitants. Notable are the iron suspension bridges over torrents and high-banked streams. Mr. Hart describes the bridges as gems of native art, some of them having at one end a tablet recording the date of construction and giving the donors' names. Indeed, the number of pagodas, brick, stone, and metal structures and works of art in the province is surprising, and on and around Mount Omei, the great Buddhist centre, bewildering. It is of fascinating interest to study this primitive home of the Buddhism of Chinese Asia, and to recognize in the names of the various avatars and attributes the originals of Corean and Japanese developments. Some of the most recent phases of "Reformed" Buddhism in Japan claim to be but revivals of the ancient forms of the faith taught here.

The author, Rev. Virgil C. Hart, started from Hankow April 11, 1887, by steamer to I-chang and thence by native boat to Chung-king in Sz-chuen province, to reëstablish the mission of the American Methodist Episcopal Church, which had been so tragically closed by the riot of July, 1886. He describes the river voyage, incidents of travel, the great brine and fire wells, the historical monuments of the classic city of Chen-teu; and, after properly devoting three readable chapters to the great Buddhist monasteries, towers, pagodas, relics, and works of art on Mount Omei, winds up with a general description of his field of work and a survey of the missionary problem. A dozen illustrations, a map, and an index add to the reader's pleasure. The author's style needs brightening up, if he would win the readers he particularly desires to have; but all who are interested in China will hail this work as a positive addition to the first row of their books illustrating the great Empire. The telegraph wire is now stretched over many thousands of miles in the long-isolated land, and the inevitable railway through mid-Asia to Europe cannot long be delayed. It is certain that the "Province of the Four Streams" will be the first of the western Chinese provinces to be tapped and traversed by iron rails. Mr. Hart's accurate monograph is, therefore, not only a pleasing record of travel, but a timely picture of one of the least known yet most valuable portions of the earth's surface. Students of Corean and Japanese Buddhism will find the volume of special interest.

Old Chelsea: A Summer Day's Stroll. By E. B. Martin. Illustrated by Joseph Pennell. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

FOR upwards of three hundred years the suburb of Chelsea has attracted more remarkable people than all the other suburbs of London put together. Mr. Martin has inadvertently revealed the secret of this attraction in giving the derivation of the name—from the Saxon *chesel*, meaning gravel, and *ea*, a bank. That wise man Sir Thomas More, who built himself a great house on the river in 1520, knew well the sanitary superiority of gravel to clay, and it is safe to assume that the same knowledge influenced Pepys, Addison, Smollett, Chesterfield, Walpole, Benjamin Franklin, and the host of other worthies, male and female, to whose dwellings in Chelsea Mr. Martin's text and Mr. Pennell's admirable illustrations introduce the reader. The book is brimful of historical and other information, and leaves on the mind the impression that all the most interesting English men and women since the days of Henry the Eighth have been in some way or other connected with Chelsea. As to American celebrities, we have, besides Franklin, Philadelphia, great-granddaughter of Wm. Penn, and named from the city of her birth, who married Lord Cremorne, and died in Chelsea in 1825. Probably very few travellers from the City of Brotherly Love who in times past visited Cremorne Gardens, suspected the existence of so curious an association between their quiet homes and the dubious splendor of that particular corner of Chelsea. The gardens have disappeared into the mist of an unregretted past, but the well-advised traveller of to-day will not fail to visit Chelsea, as being a part of old London but little damaged by the march of modern improvement; and in so doing, he will find this little book an indispensable companion.

How the Peasant Owner Lives in Parts of France, Germany, Italy, Russia. By Lady Verney. 8vo, pp. 234. Macmillan & Co. 1888.

THESE half-dozen papers, collected from the *Nineteenth Century*, renew the persistent war Lady Verney wages against peasant proprietorship. She continues, as in her previous publications, to spend her strength more in contemplating and narrating ills that have existed and still exist, than in investigating what may be the possible ways of improving matters. Even if her point of view were unquestionable, and it were admitted that the miserable conditions to be found in connection with land held in such small parcels that they cannot be properly cultivated, were due solely to such tenure of land, it is none the less certain that, as long as the size of holding is considered as outside the proper sphere of immediate legislation, the tendency to division and sub-division must increase or diminish precisely to the degree in which it will be in accordance with the general economic intelligence of the nations affected by it; and consequently the discussion should turn on facts carefully chosen for their economic importance. Lady Verney is not very successful in this respect; and it is in rather a feminine tone that she expresses rather incoherent doctrines. But her writings are full of good feeling, if not of good sense.

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